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ABSTRACT

A select group of 75 educators, government officials, and academic experts from 18 countries exchanged information and insights, explored topics of mutual concern, and reviewed the Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development's (OECD) Centre for Educational Research and Innovation (CERI) work on strategies for connecting rural education and rural development. Following the introduction by Jonathan P. Sher, Part One of the conference report reviews the history and activities of the CERI/OECD Project on Education and Local Development (ELD) from its inception in May, 1979. Part Two includes the opening address by Ray Marshall; keynote addresses ("The Role of Formal Education in Rural Development" by Douglas McArthur and "The Role of Adult and Non-Formal Education in Rural Development" by Philip Coombs); responses to the conference from the Scottish Education Department (R. S. Johnston) and from the Western Isles (N. R. Galbraith); and brief reports of workshops and special sessions. Twenty-five ELD Project conclusions ratified at the conference comprise Part Three and fall into three categories: general--applicable to all ELD work (11 conclusions); specific to formal education in rural development (7 conclusions); and relating to non-formal and adult education in this context (7 conclusions). The appendix lists the participants. (BRR)

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CONFERENCE REPORT AND PROJECT CONCLUSIONS

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INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON EDUCATION AND LOCAL DEVELOPMENT IN RURAL AREAS

CONFERENCE REPORT AND PROJECT CONCLUSIONS

Conference held in the Western Isles of Scotland
from 1st - 5th June 1981, under the joint
sponsorship of the Western Isles Islands
Council, the Scottish Education Department
and CERI/OECD

CENTRE FOR EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH AND INNOVATION
ORGANISATION FOR ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT

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INTRODUCTION

by Jonathan P. Sher
formerly staff member of CERI

For government officials, academic experts and prominent practitioners, conferences are a normal part of the conduct of professional affairs. In fact, they have become so commonplace there is a tendency for the distinctions among them to blur - the victim of too many discussions of familiar issues with familiar people in familiar places.

Fortunately, there are exceptions to this general pattern. These exceptional conferences challenge, stimulate and engage the participants in ways which become indelibly imprinted upon the memories of those directly involved. More important, the best conferences are the ones which transcend personal memories by altering the ideas and actions of participants after they've returned home. In these instances, the conference can have impacts extending well beyond the actual participants and the limits of the event itself.

The OECD's International Conference on Education and Local Development was one such extraordinary meeting. For five days, a select group of individuals from 18 countries came together to exchange information and insights, to explore topics of mutual concern and to review the work of OECD's Centre for Educational Research and Innovation on strategies for connecting rural education and rural development. Several features distinguished this Conference from other national and international gatherings.

First, the topic was a provocative one. Although important relationships have long existed between rural education and rural development, they have been neither carefully analysed in the past nor made the explicit focus of governmental planning and policymaking in most OECD nations. Consequently, the task was more one of exploring new territory than of retracing familiar ground. The kind of cliches and well-worn rhetoric which often burden international conferences were largely absent - in part because no body of "conventional wisdom" exists yet in this emerging field.

Second, rather than being an isolated occurrence or a "one-shot" event, there was a context for this Conference which helped to establish a useful framework for the discussions. In one sense, it was the culmination of more than two years of work on this OECD/CERI project - and the capstone of a series of seminars on specific ELD themes held in Finland, Australia, Alaska (USA), Italy, Spain and France. In another sense, it was the prelude to a spectrum of anticipated research, policymaking and operational activities at the national (and local) level. The fact that the deliberations had both a past and a future infused the Conference with a notable seriousness of purpose.

Third, the venue was extraordinary. For reasons of convenience, comfort, prestige (and after-hours entertainment), international conferences are usually held in the world's major cities. By contrast, OECD/CERI's rural education meetings were held in such "off the beaten path" locations as Kuusamo (Finland), Aurillac (France), Chena Hot Springs (Alaska, USA), and Barco de Avila (Spain). These locations not only allowed general discussions to be interwoven with appropriate site visits, but also encouraged more camaraderie and greater intensity among the participants because there were fewer distractions. The value of this strategy was strongly reinforced by the experience of holding the Final Conference in the Western Isles of Scotland. For reasons noted in the other introductory statements, the choice of Stornoway as the Conference venue was an inspired one. Both during and after the Conference, participants were fulsome in their praise of the facilities, support and activities provided by the Western Isles Islands Council and the Scottish Education Department. Participants came away deeply impressed by the people, culture and environment of the Western Isles and convinced that a more appropriate site for this particular conference would have been hard to imagine.

The fourth distinguishing characteristic of this meeting - the interplay of site visits and general discussions - grew out of the venue chosen. The Western Isles had an appeal in the context of this Conference, quite apart from their general attractiveness. The people and agencies of the Western Isles are consciously, and conscientiously, wrestling with a host of issues and concerns around the theme of education and local development. A variety of initiatives, from the establishment of multi-purpose community co-operatives to the promotion of locally-relevant bilingual education, have been launched in the Western Isles in recent years. By breaking up into small groups and making site visits all around the islands, participants had the opportunity to witness practical examples of the ideas and policies being analysed in the plenary sessions. This movement back and forth between theory and practice provided a useful reality check for the formal proceedings as well as enriching the entire experience for participants and hosts alike.

The final, and perhaps the most important, element which made the Conference so memorable was the quality of the participants themselves. The 75 individuals from 18 countries taking part in this meeting represented a fascinating cross-section of top government officials, academic experts, and leading practitioners. Moreover, both the education and development sides of the ELD equation were well represented - although the number of people with educational responsibilities were clearly in the majority. Many participants remarked upon the uniqueness, and unique value, of the Conference's attempt to bring together educational administrators, economists, policymakers, university specialists from several disciplines, community activists, school inspectors and planners around the common theme of revitalising rural life in their respective countries.

OECD's International Conference on Education and Local Development was an unforgettable experience for those individuals fortunate enough to be in attendance. However, the issues discussed and insights gained through this meeting have a significance which extends to many agencies, individuals and communities not present at the actual deliberations.

Thus, the purpose of this report is to distill the major proceedings and findings of the ELD's Conference for a diverse international audience. Unfortunately, it is beyond our ability fully to communicate the esprit de corps and sense of excitement which infused the site visits, small group workshops, plenary sessions and informal exchanges. Accordingly, several dimensions of the Conference have not been reported here. For example, simply noting which groups went on which site visits and describing what they saw both trivialises the experience and provides few useful lessons. Participants don't need such reminders and non-participants won't benefit from them.

Instead, this report has been divided into three sections. Part One establishes the context of the Conference by reviewing the work of the entire CERI/OECD project on Education and Local Development.

Part Two provides a summary of the Conference itself, including the keynote addresses. It should be noted that the case study presentations from Australia, Sweden, USA, Switzerland, Spain and Scotland, which were a highlight of the meeting, have not been reproduced here.

Part Three offers readers a set of conclusions based upon the broad range of ELD project activities, as well as the Conference participants' contributions.

In reading this document, two points ought to be kept in mind. The first is that neither the ELD Conference nor the project as a whole have "settled" the issue of the most advantageous relationship(s) between rural education and rural development. Indeed, one of the basic findings here is that the relationship between these two areas is not "resolvable" in any meaningful or permanent sense.

There is no universal or timeless solution to the problems which arise as a natural part of the interaction between education and local development. Rather, it is most appropriate to think in terms of tensions and trade-offs. Education must respond to the needs and desires of the individual, the community and the nation. The challenge is to maintain an appropriate, effective and equitable balance among these constituencies. There are similar tensions on the development side among physical development, economic development and human resource development. Ameliorating the situation can only be achieved through a continuous process of adjustment and readjustment to changing conditions and changing values. Thus, in a sense, the search is for new directions rather than final destinations.

The second realisation emerging from the Final Conference was that the proper role of governments - particularly national governments - in enhancing the linkages between rural education and development remains ambiguous. Some participants advanced the idea that (crudely put) national governments cannot affect local development through formal education and should not affect it through non-formal education.

Such an argument might be compelling were it not for the fact that governmental policies and programmes inevitably affect both education and local development - even when such effects are entirely inadvertent. For example, the kind and quality of schools and training programmes available in a particular locality significantly influence the economic prospects of that community. Similarly, governmental decisions in the development arena will have important ramifications for the local tax base, the size and characteristics of the local population, and other factors shaping local education systems.

However, there are real and enduring tensions about the role governments at the local, regional and national levels can, and should, legitimately play in connecting education and development. The Final ELD Conference was an important step in the direction of helping governments to deal with these tensions. If nothing else, it underscored the fact that governments can no longer afford the luxury of ignoring this vital area of inquiry.

Two years have passed since the Conference was held. Although in some respects the delay in issuing this report was regrettable, it at least affords one the opportunity to analyse more dispassionately the proceedings and to examine the actual impacts rather than merely speculating upon the desired ones.

The results to date are most encouraging. Government agencies, academic institutions and community organisations in several countries have taken the ELD work to heart and have already initiated a variety of follow-up activities. In a few instances, it would appear that the ELD perspective is becoming institutionalised - that is, a conscious examination of the implications of education plans and policies for local development (and vice-versa) is starting to become a matter of course rather than an oddity.

Reactions from Conference participants and other interested parties in the OECD Member nations indicate that as a consequence of the Conference, policy-makers have gained (and have begun to employ) a new perspective on several old dilemmas. Further, it seems that documenting the wide range of ELD activities currently under way in Member nations has inspired a willingness to consider borrowing some of the current ELD experiments and innovations for implementation at home. Most important, this meeting left participants with a heightened awareness of the spectrum of institutions and actors in education, economics, health, agriculture, labour and industry who are potential allies in the struggle to strengthen and improve the quality of rural life in the industrialised countries. The fulfillment of this potential carries with it both the hope and the challenge of the ELD project.

The Final Conference, by reinforcing and expanding the international network of scholars, policymakers and activists in this field, by consolidating the previous ELD activities, and by coming forth with a specific set of conclusions and recommendations for future action, is promising. The struggle for a revitalisation of rural communities continues, but the Conference has both strengthened the conviction that this struggle is a meaningful one and renewed the faith that significant progress can be made. The task is not an easy one because, as Piet Hien once observed, "Problems worthy of attack prove their worth by fighting back". Yet the optimism engendered by the ELD Conference and the hard-won experiences and lessons shared there may be the best ammunition with which to win this struggle.

PART ONE:

CONTEXT OF THE CONFERENCE

I. HISTORY OF THE ELD PROJECT

In 1976, the CERI Governing Board authorised the initiation of Secretariat work on education issues in the remote rural areas of OECD Member countries. The resulting project on Basic Education and Teacher Support in Sparsely-Populated Areas (otherwise known as the SPA project) emphasized policies, programmes, and innovations having an impact upon the availability and quality of schooling in rural communities. The SPA frame of reference heavily emphasized the compulsory years of public education and a host of technical issues within the education system.

By means of an active programme of Secretariat and Member country co-operation, a significant amount of new knowledge on rural education was generated; several new directions for governmental action in this field were identified; and new national commitments to solve long-standing rural education problems were both reflected and stimulated by the SPA project. This body of work was disseminated not only through an international conference in Aurillac, France, and a series of follow-up national conferences, but also through the commercial publication of an OECD/CERI book entitled Rural Education in Urbanised Nations: Issues and Innovations (available from Westview Press, 5500 Central Avenue, Boulder, Colorado, USA 80301).

At the completion of the SPA project, there was a general sentiment that further rural education work could be productively carried out at an international level. However, the argument was that additional work on rural schooling per se was not as vital as an exploration of the connections between education and development in the context of local rural communities. Whereas the SPA project had looked inside of rural schools, it was suggested that any new initiative should look outward from the education system in order to understand better what education could and should do to assist in the revitalisation of the rural communities being served. The emphasis on local development became the most distinctive feature of the planning of this new CERI effort. It struck a responsive chord among policy-makers from many OECD Member countries who had long recognised the important role education plays in national development and regional development, but also expressed serious concerns about the impact of education upon depressed and/or economically marginal local communities.

This concern among policy-makers sprang from two sources. The first was the understanding that a wide range of local communities, and their residents, had been "left behind" in the implementation of national and regional development strategies. There was even the suspicion that certain forms of government-sponsored economic development (such as the "growth centre" strategy) have actually been able to succeed only through the decline of numerous small local communities. In other words, there was a growing interest in the fate of those local communities and local population groups who had not shared adequately (or been excluded altogether) from the benefits of national and regional economic growth.

The second concern was that neither the role of education in the decline of these local communities nor education's potential role in their revitalisation were clearly understood. Governmental interest in local level development had been manifested primarily through direct economic interventions (e.g. encouraging private sector relocation with public subsidies and tax incentives, or sponsoring such capital-intensive development projects as road building or industrial site construction).

Direct attempts or explicit public sector policies designed to promote local development through educational means were all but non-existent. Yet policy-makers and development specialists were becoming increasingly aware of the fact that the success of economic development initiatives in ameliorating local conditions was dependent upon critical human/social factors - that is, factors to which education was inextricably bound. Thus, ignoring the current effects and potential contributions of education to local development (and vice-versa) was a luxury which could no longer be afforded.

The overriding concern of the ELD project has been to conduct research and facilitate co-operation among Member countries which results in: (a) a better understanding of existing relationships between education and local development; (b) an identification of the potential effects (positive and negative)

In part, this rural bias is the result of the momentum generated through CERI's earlier project on rural education. Still, the central justification here is twofold: first, that rural issues are becoming increasingly significant within many Member countries; and second, that the minimal level of previous information-sharing and active collaboration on rural education and rural development topics among these nations neither reflected the importance of this field nor exhausted the benefits of international co-operation here.

During the two-year existence of the ELD project, there was one other major shift in emphasis which merits special comment. Originally, it was anticipated that equal weight would be accorded to both formal and non-formal education. If anything, the feeling was that working through the Ministry of Education in each nation would tend to bias the work toward concerns about public education for children and adolescents. In some instances, this assumption was proven correct. And yet, to a far greater extent than initially planned, the most active work and strongest interest has come from the adult, non-formal education side.

One explanation is that adults, not children, will be the major participants in current rural development programmes and thus, the negative consequences of adult educational deficiencies are more obvious and more keenly felt. Of equal importance is the growing realisation that problems on the human side (rather than the capital side) of local development are not simply a matter of an inadequate basic education or missing technical skills (although these are by no means unknown). Rather, there appear to be serious barriers to local development which are cultural/social/attitudinal/political in nature. These problems, particularly in rural areas, often appear to be more readily amenable to solution through non-formal education means than through the formal schooling/training process.

Although terminology can be problematic, "non-formal education" came to be used as a reference to the broad spectrum of intentional learning activities operating in Member countries which shared certain characteristics distinguishing them from the formal schooling/training sector. More specifically, non-formal education encompasses those intentional learning activities which are: voluntary; not directed toward certification or official employment/academic qualifications; generally open to all interested community members regardless of personal background or formal credentials; generally concerned with immediate, concrete learning needs rather than long-term academic pursuits; and sponsored by a wide variety of both public and private sector organisations (e.g. churches, unions, businesses, community groups, political parties, and government agencies). Particular attention was paid to those non-formal education initiatives operating in rural areas which were explicitly oriented toward community issues (rather than individual recreational pursuits) and which actively promoted local development projects.

of alternative methods of linking education and local development; (c) a documentation of the experiences of Member countries in this area, with a special emphasis on interesting and/or innovative strategies; and (d) a set of policy-relevant conclusions for use by policy-makers in both the education and development sectors.

The original programme of work was intended to achieve these objectives through an analysis of the following group of major issues:

1. The ways in which different national and regional definitions of the key ELD concepts (i.e. "development", "local", "community", and "education") influence the types of ELD relationships and activities found in each country.

2. The degree to which education on the one hand could and on the other hand should be directed toward local development.

3. The types of intergovernmental, administrative, and financial arrangements which are likely to improve the connections between education and local development.

4. The ways in which the "socio-geographic context" of local areas (i.e. community size, relative wealth, economic base, population characteristics, physical environment, and quality of public services) affect the relationship between education and local development.

5. The extent to which local communities can utilise "self-help" strategies to strengthen the education/development bond and the extent to which they are dependent upon "outside" assistance.

6. The degree to which governmental action in this field could and should be directed toward minority, indigenous, and other "special need" populations.

7. The political feasibility, practical limitations and institutional consequences of adapting education more fully to the needs of local development.

In order to implement this programme of work, the ELD project was originally divided into rural, urban and joint components - each of which included both research and operational elements. However, financial constraints within CERI led to lower priority being given to the urban component. As a consequence, the urban and joint activities were curtailed and limited (with the exception of an international conference in Italy) to a modified effort on the research side. Consequently, the actual work of the ELD project has heavily emphasized the rural component.

In summary, the ELD project had been:

(A) Concerned with helping Member countries analyse the ways in which education affects, and is affected by, local economic development strategies;

(B) Considering education in its broadest sense as any intentional learning experience, in order to discover those areas of education - formal or non-formal, early childhood through adult - in which a significant relationship to local development can be found or nurtured;

(C) Emphasizing the rural dimensions of ELD issues in OECD nations, but incorporating a sufficient level of urban research to help clarify which aspects are specific to a particular context and which are generalisable;

(D) Locating and documenting innovative programmes, policies and strategies directed toward improving the relationships between education and local development;

(E) Sharing the knowledge generated through this project among all the interested OECD Member countries.

II. ELD ACTIVITIES

Once the ELD project became operational (May 1979) an effort was made to identify Member countries desirous of becoming active participants in all (or part) of this project. Thirteen countries - Australia, Canada, Finland, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, New Zealand, Norway, Spain, Switzerland, the United Kingdom (represented by both Scotland and England/Wales) and the United States - have contributed to all, or most, of the ELD activities. In addition, five other Member countries - Belgium, France, Germany, Sweden and Yugoslavia - have actively engaged in at least two aspects of the ELD programme of work. Work on this project was carried out in four categories: (a) Secretariat missions and research; (b) surveys of ELD policies and programmes in Member countries; (c) field-based seminars on key ELD themes; and (d) case studies/special reports on ELD innovations. The work completed in each of these four categories will now be summarised.

Secretariat missions were carried out in order to help Secretariat members gain a deeper understanding of the broad spectrum of ELD-related work already under way in Member countries In addition, missions were conducted for which the purpose was either to assist Member governments in the development of special reports and other ELD information, or to aid in the resolution of ELD-related problems. A modest amount of direct co-operation between the Secretariat and Member countries (focusing on planning ELD-related ventures) also took place.

Secretariat research was conducted on both the urban and rural dimensions of ELD issues. In part, this meant analysing all the documents and publications submitted by Member governments and/or national experts in order to ascertain any cross-national patterns or generalisable trends. In addition, literature reviews were conducted not simply on education and local development (since, as noted earlier, available documentation in this exact field is scanty) but also on relevant materials from vocational and adult education, human resource planning, community economic development, agriculture, regional policy, political science and sociology. The results of this effort will be reflected in the conclusions noted herein.

Supporting and extending the Secretariat's own research was a vital element of the ELD programme of work: the Country Survey. This Survey was sent to all Member countries in June 1979 as a first step in establishing a knowledge base upon which the ELD project could build. The intent was both to clarify the specific types of information the Secretariat needed and to encourage the production of national contributions sharing enough common features to facilitate cross-national comparisons. More specifically, the survey instrument contained the following elements:

(a) Definitions and Content

(b) Priority Issues

(c) Target Areas and Populations

(d) Key National Policies and Programmes

(e) Key Regional and Local Policies and Programmes

(f) Relevant Data and Research

(g) Innovative and Exemplary Projects

(h) Contact People and Sources of Further Information

Nearly all the Member governments choosing to participate actively in the ELD project submitted responses to the Country Survey. As might be expected, the quality and comprehensiveness of these responses varied significantly from country to country. As a whole, however, these survey responses constitute a valuable source of information and insight on the existence and variety of education/local development linkages in Member nations. They also strongly influenced the conclusions noted in this document.

Field-Based Seminars

The next major element of the ELD programme of work was the sponsorship of a series of week-long field-based seminars. These international seminars served as the primary forum for the exchange of information and the mutual exploration of key ELD themes during the course of this project. The field-based meetings (designed to combine plenary sessions on general topics with related site visits and discussions about a specific ELD innovation) proved popular among participants and productive from the Secretariat's point of view.

The first such meeting was held in Kuusamo, Finland during September 1979. This conference brought together representatives from 15 Member countries in order to carry out the detailed planning necessary to implement the rural component of the ELD project. As a result of this meeting, a common framework for both identifying rural ELD innovations and preparing the special reports and case studies was established. In addition, agreement was reached on the major themes around which the rural ELD work, in general, and the other field-based seminars, in particular, should be organised. These themes were:

1. The Role of Formal Education and Youth Programmes in Rural Development
2. The Role of Non-Formal and Adult Education in Rural Development
3. ELD Issues in Rural Minority and Indigenous Communities
4. The Educational Role of Development Agencies

It is interesting to note that the only one of these which did not later attract sufficient interest and support was theme 4. In large measure, this one failed to develop as hoped because of administrative and co-ordinating problems at the national level. In other words, since CERI's primary contact with Member governments is through Education Ministries, there were considerable difficulties in organising an activity which focused on agencies falling outside the jurisdiction of these same Ministries. Ironically, this experience demonstrated the very lack of communication and effective co-ordination between national education and development authorities which the ELD project was designed to investigate.

In April 1980, a seminar was held in Alaska (United States) on "ELD Issues in Rural Minority and Indigenous Communities". This meeting, jointly sponsored by the University of Alaska, the United States National Institute of Education, and CERI, attracted representatives of the Aboriginal community in Australia, the Maori community in New Zealand and different minority communities within the United States, as well as delegates from several other OECD nations. Discussions centered on the unique burdens borne by minority and indigenous populations and the special implications for effectively linking education and local development in such communities. Coupled with a general analysis of government interventions to upgrade education and to promote economic development in these communities was an opportunity to visit Native Alaskan villages where a variety of ELD-related activities were in operation.

During the same month, the only urban ELD conference was held in Venice, Italy, under the auspices of the Italian Ministry of Education and CERI. This meeting brought together delegates from those Member countries having a special interest in the urban dimensions of ELD issues. Like the rural seminars, this conference combined plenary discussions with relevant field visits. The Venice seminar was useful both in fostering an international exchange of information and experience in this emerging field and in helping the Secretariat to understand better the diverse ways in which education and local development interacted in metropolitan regions. This, in turn, clarified those ELD concerns which are "universal" rather than a function of their specific "socio-geographic" context.

In October 1980 the fourth field-based seminar was convened in Barco de Avila, Spain, around the theme of "The Role of Non-Formal and Adult Education in Rural Development". Jointly sponsored by the National Institute of Education Sciences (INCIE) of the Spanish Ministry of Education and Science and CERI, this meeting featured a cross-section of Spain's top officials, experts and practitioners in this field along with delegates from nine other nations. Particular attention was paid to the role which non-governmental organisations and institutions can productively play in the drive to prepare rural adults to benefit more fully from public and private sector programmes of economic development. Through field visits and special sessions, the case of Spain's "escuela campesina" (peasant school) movement was examined as an illustration of a non-formal ELD rural initiative. Other Spanish activities were reviewed along with similar innovations from the other nations represented.

The fifth ELD seminar was held at the Château de la Muette in Paris after organisational difficulties precluded holding this meeting at the rural site originally scheduled. This seminar centred on the "Role of Formal Education and Youth Programmes in Rural Development" and was attended by delegates from ten Member countries. Given the brevity of this session and the lack of field visits to anchor and focus the discussions, this seminar did not compare favourably with the earlier field-based ones. Nevertheless, the participants made useful contributions toward a common understanding of how schools (from the pre-primary through post-secondary levels) affect the local development process - even if their impact is often indirect and inadvertent. This seminar also highlighted discussions on topics like the development implications of rural school closures, the problems and prospects of "locally-relevant" education programmes and the relationships between major types of vocational education and major rural development strategies.

Case Studies and Reports

From the beginning of the project, it was apparent that the connections between education and local development were often subtle and almost always complex. In addition, the great variety of interactions uncovered made it clear that no single model could accurately capture or explain the essence of these linkages.

Accordingly, it became obvious that survey responses, Secretariat literature reviews, and occasional seminars (although very valuable in their own right) would not generate information of sufficient breadth and depth to allow a sophisticated analysis of the ELD experience in Member countries.

This realisation, coupled with the more mundane task of adequately describing and documenting interesting ELD innovations, made the need for a series of case studies and special reports imperative. It may well be that these case studies and special reports will have more impact and a longer-lasting value than any other element of the ELD programme. A significant amount of effort, energy and thought has gone into the preparation of these documents and their quality is a tribute to the competence and dedication of the authors.

Given the importance of these papers in the ELD project (as well as their intrinsic fascination) it seems appropriate briefly to summarise a representative cross-section here. Thus, six of the reports on formal education innovations will be presented, followed by a description of six of the non-formal and adult education innovations.

The six special reports/case studies in the first group are united by their emphasis on the role of formal education and youth programmes in rural development. Included here are papers on innovations in Sweden, Australia, the United States, Scotland and Finland.

The Öckerö project in Sweden. Öckerö is a small island off the west coast of Sweden with a lower secondary school, Brattebergskölan, serving students from neighbouring islands as well as from Öckerö itself. By the late 1970s, local parents, students, teachers and administrators had come to believe that the "normal" classroom-based school experience was not adequately addressing the needs of either students or the local community. Consequently, the school day was divided into two parts: half the day would be spent on traditional academic pursuits and the other half would be used for a wide variety of experiential education activities. Many of these activities are tied to community needs and local development opportunities. For example, students now operate a community radio station serving these small islands. Students also operate a fish farming business, as well as a commercial greenhouse of their own construction from which they raise and market tomatoes. Because Swedish law precludes schools from directly operating enterprises, the Brattebergskölan community co-operatively established a non-profit organisation to manage these ventures. Financed from local contributions, philanthropic grants and the profits of student operated businesses, this community organisation is creating new opportunities for students to "learn by doing" (such as buying an old boat which students are repairing and refurbishing for commercial use) and serving as a focal point for local development initiatives.

The Country Education Project (CEP) in Victoria, Australia. Begun in 1977 with funding from the Disadvantaged Country Areas Programme of the federal government's Schools Commission, the CEP now actively operates in five remote rural areas of the state of Victoria. Under the CEP's auspices, a broad spectrum of innovations and new resources have been introduced into isolated rural schools. The purpose of these activities has been not only to upgrade the overall quality of education but also to increase the "local-relevance" of these rural schools. To this end, a major emphasis has been placed on community involvement and the use of the community's human and physical resources in the learning process. Specific activities have included remedial education programmes operated through community volunteers; community surveys and community awareness schemes; joint school-community programmes in music, arts/crafts, and drama; camping, environmental study and related outdoor education initiatives; community education centres; and local work experience opportunities. Interestingly, the Victoria CEP has also spawned several important non-formal ELD ventures, such as an extensive community-based, community-operated programme of technical/life skills workshops for rural youths and adults; and assistance in the creation of bilingual agricultural resource materials for local Italian immigrant farmers and farmworkers. Currently, the CEP is planning to increasingly emphasize initiatives which link education, community /social development, and economic growth in the areas being served.

The High School Vocational Agriculture Programme in Waverly, Iowa (United States). This site was chosen as a good example of a secondary school vocational programme found throughout rural America. In particular, the close relationship between the formal agricultural course offerings at the school and the informal activities of a rural youth organisation called Future Farmers of America (FFA) is noteworthy. FFA and the high school work together to help interested rural students acquire the skills they need to become successful independent farmers. To this end, they take the state-required academic courses (i.e. language, mathematics, history, etc.) plus specialised vocational courses (i.e. plant science, agricultural mechanics, farm management, livestock production, etc.). Through FFA, students simultaneously carry out co-ordinated projects during the course of their four years of high school including productive enterprises (small-scale, profit-making agricultural ventures developed, owned and operated by the students); improvement enterprises (practical projects, like soil conservation or fence construction, designed to increase the value or efficiency of a family-owned farm in the community), agricultural skills projects (directed toward developing a specific skill needed to own and operate a farm); and community service projects (such as conducting free soil analyses, constructing a playground for local children, or pruning trees in a local orchard). There is also a strong emphasis on developing leadership and public speaking skills among these rural youths. One of the dilemmas being faced in Iowa, as well as the rest of the United States, is how to adapt vocational agriculture programmes to the reality of diminishing numbers of small, family farms; the growing presence of major agri-businesses corporations; and the high costs of entering farming.

Vocational Education and Training in the Highlands of Scotland. Historically, there has been a marked out-migration of young people from the Highlands, generally, and the more remote villages, in particular. Whether they left in search of further education or job opportunities, relatively few returned and their absence has had a detrimental impact on attempts to revitalise Highland villages. Today, many more young people are remaining in the Highlands but the scarcity of jobs - especially jobs for which they are appropriately trained - has triggered a high rate of unemployment among both young people and adults. In recent years, a variety of government agencies and government-funded organisations have launched major programmes of rural development and major new education and training programmes in the Highlands. This study investigates the degree of co-ordination and co-operative action existing between the education/training schemes and the new development projects. Highlighted are such innovations as the fish farming and forestry programmes at Inverness Technical College, and the work of Craftpoint (a new organisation funded by the Highlands and Islands Development Board) which provides training, as well as marketing and development assistance, to craftspeople in the Highlands.

Attempts to develop schools as village centres in Finland. In recent years, the Finnish Government has committed itself to actively promoting local village development as a means of halting rural depopulation and ensuring balanced national growth. The role of schools as village centres is seen as a key element in the government's overall strategy for rural development. The project at KOKKE is a good example of this attempt to connect education and local development. School facilities are being used both during and after school hours for the advantage of the entire village. For example, health services, senior citizen centres, "coffee bars", and craft workshops are being housed in village schools. Efforts are also being made to revive village culture and traditions through school activities. Aside from their direct benefits, activities like those in the KOKKE project seem to be stimulating a renewal of village pride and interest in development work. Compatible initiatives are also underway in the non-formal education side in Finland through projects of the Union of Rural Municipalities and through "study circles" on local development sponsored by major political parties (such as the Centre Party's Union for Rural Education).

Rural School-based Enterprises in the United States. The common element linking these innovations is the emphasis on creating real businesses operated by young people in order to improve the quality of occupational preparation, encourage the development of entrepreneurial skills appropriate in a rural economy, and contribute to local development. For example, in Brooks County, Georgia, a complete lack of day care opportunities made it difficult for women to seek employment. In response, the local secondary school built a day care facility on school property using student labour and currently operates a centre which provides: (a) good care for young children; (b) training and work experience for the student staff; (c) the ability to seek work for local mothers; and (d) a net source of income for the school system. This same school also features a very modern student-run pig production operation on school property which is both economically profitable and an excellent training/work experience for the rural youths involved. Other similar innovations like a community newspaper operated by secondary school students in rural Arkansas and a substantial boat-building business run by young people in rural Maine are also examined.

As mentioned earlier, a series of case studies and special reports was also organised around the role of non-formal and Adult Education in rural development. Much has been written about this theme in the context of the less developed nations. The contribution of these ELD case studies is in filling a major knowledge gap about comparable work in the OECD Member countries. The six innovations summarised here are occurring in Spain, New Zealand, Wales, Switzerland, the United States, and Australia.

The Peasant School movement in Spain. Started in the village of La Carrera in the late 1970s by two local priests (although independent of any official Church control) there are now 18 village-based peasant schools ("escuela campesina") in the province of Avila alone. "Classes" are held in homes, churches or other available buildings and co-ordinated by volunteer community members having relevant skills. The "curriculum" is drawn almost entirely from the actual experiences, problems and concerns of the local peasants. The objective is to help peasants to understand better both their condition and the pragmatic steps they can take themselves in order to improve their position. Thus, the educational work of the escuela campesina has three components: (a) discussions and activities aimed at "consciousness raising" i.e. strengthening self-images, clarifying both obstacles to development and targets of opportunity, forging a collective identity, and motivating collective action; (b) technical lessons and practical skill development around such topics as livestock management, agricultural marketing strategies, and dairy product analysis; and (c) concrete actions to promote local development (often done in conjunction with the local peasant union) such as establishing co-operatives for buying and selling agricultural products or protesting unfair practices by agricultural middlemen.

The Waahi Marae Project in New Zealand. This project began as an effort by a Maori community to resist the construction of a massive power station adjacent to their tribal homeground (Waahi Marae). The government proceeded with the construction but, after several years of negotiation, a major compensation settlement was given to the local Maori community. This spurred a great deal of community planning and development on the Waahi Marae, including housing construction, the creation of community and recreational facilities, and the acquisition of more than 2,000 acres of agricultural land for commercial production. In fact, a major physical and economic development programme has been launched in the wake of this compensation award. The local Maori leaders believe that this initiative must integrate an active emphasis on non-formal education. Accordingly, they have started such activities as community tutoring of Maori students; the acquisition of development-related political skills, legal knowledge, and planning techniques by local adults; the revitalisation of traditional Maori crafts, culture and tribal rituals; and the teaching of relevant technical skills (i.e. carpentry, welding, plumbing, fencing, landscaping, etc.) especially to unemployed Maori youths. The point of non-formal education here was to enhance community solidarity, promote cultural identity and provide technical knowledge so that the Maori population could effectively initiate and control the local development process.

Non-formal and Adult Education Schemes, Wales. The Development Board of Rural Wales, a government-funded organisation, was created in 1977 with a mandate to encourage and assist the economic and social development of mid-Wales, especially through an expansion of local job opportunities. Most of the Board's resources have thus far been directed toward attracting outside industries to relocate in rural Wales. Still, non-formal educational programmes related to local development have found a niche in the Board's operations. The centrepiece is the New Enterprise Promotion (NEP) scheme run in co-operation with the Manchester Business School. The basic intent is to identify and train individuals from within Wales who have either recently established, or would like to create, new businesses - especially small-scale manufacturing or craft enterprises - in mid-Wales. The intensive training provided is geared to bolstering the confidence, developing the entrepreneurial skills, and working through the specific business problems of each participant. Recently, the Board began a simplified, simulated version of the NEP for upper secondary level students called "Young Enterprise" in which individuals (during after-school hours) "create" a business from scratch and "manage" if for a year. In addition, the Board sponsors other non-formal education programmes through its business advising services and social development ventures.

Connections between Non-formal Education and Local Development, Switzerland. The canton of Jura is a small, mountainous area lying on the border between France and Switzerland which has had a turbulent history of economic marginality and outside control. The case study recounts this history and points out the high level of non-formal adult education present in the movement to break away from the German-dominated canton of Bern and to create a new, autonomous, French-language canton for the Jura. After an extended struggle, this goal was at least partially accomplished in 1978. Since then, there have been extensive initiatives designed to foster social/cultural development as a necessary prelude to the solution of the area's lingering political and economic problems. The assumption is that a firm cultural identity and strong community/human resource development programmes are more important (at least in the short run) than traditional, economically-oriented development strategies. Among the non-formal education efforts described are the village festivals, the Jura Cultural Animation Association, the Jura's People University, and the "consciousness-raising" and community organising work of a staunchly separatist local movement called the "Militants Francs-Montagnards".

Non-formal community education and development in the Appalachian region of the United States. In this report the work of two separate organisations, the Highlander Research and Education Center and the SALT (Southern Appalachian Leadership Training) programme are specifically highlighted. Inspired by the Danish folk school movement, the Highlander Center was created in the 1930s to help local community activists across the Southern United States work with and learn from each other. Over the years Highlander has been deeply involved in union organising, civil rights struggles, and other efforts to help local people gain a measure of power and control over their own lives. Educating people to understand and organise around local development issues is a long-term emphasis - recently evidenced by a major Highlander study on land ownership patterns in Appalachia. Whereas Highlander depends on short-term workshops, the SALT programme features more intensive internships of up to a year's duration. SALT was created in the late 1970s to identify organisers (or potential organisers) of grassroots local development/social change movements and then to give them the leadership training and field-based support necessary to ensure their maximum effectiveness. A strong and mutually supporting network of these indigenous leaders has emerged and been utilised in major SALT initiatives - such as their campaign for greater parental control of local schools and greater community control of local development.

The Aboriginal Cultural and Training Institute in Australia. The Aboriginal communities of rural Australia are, by any measure, the most disadvantaged and economically depressed in the country. Government attitudes and policies toward the Aboriginal population have passed through clearly defined stages from elimination to protectionism to assimilation to the current policy favouring Aboriginal self-determination and self-management. As a result of this new policy, Aboriginal communities were organised around local councils having responsibility for providing water, sewers, housing and other public services. In addition, many Aboriginal people were placed on governmental policy committees in such areas as education, the arts, employment and housing. The discovery of considerable mineral and other economically important resources on Aboriginal lands made the self-management of local development a prime concern. The role of the government-funded Aboriginal Cultural and Training Institute is to promote a broad spectrum of non-formal education opportunities designed to make Aboriginal self-management an effective reality. The Institute provides administrative and skill training for Aboriginal people serving on government policy committees; management assistance and training to local community councils; and technical assistance in establishing Aboriginal youth programmes. In addition, the Institute pursues an aggressive publishing and materials development programme to aid Aboriginal education and local development.

All of the preceding case study-summaries are merely descriptive overviews intended to impart a sense of both the nature of current ELD innovations and the enormous variety of activities which are encompassed by the ELD framework. The studies themselves have a strong analytic element which enables the reader to understand the complex interactions and the major strengths and weaknesses which characterise each of the innovations reviewed.

PART TWO: CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

I. OPENING ADDRESS

by Professor Ray Marshall,

Former United States Secretary of Labor and
Founding President of the National Rural Center,
Washington D.C.

INTRODUCTION

The subjects of the CERI-ELD Project and this conference are very important for the OECD countries, and I am glad to have the opportunity to participate in this conference.

My experience is mainly in the United States and therefore may or may not be useful in other countries, but contrast probably will strengthen understanding. I believe in the comparative method and have tried to be alert to developments elsewhere.

An important point to be emphasized is that rural development issues have major implications for urban people as well as for the 120 million rural people in OECD countries.

The domestic problems of many of our countries, especially the United States, would have been markedly less troubled if in the past effective rural development had produced a better balance between rural and urban growth. Many of the problems resulting from urban congestion might have been avoided if more people who migrated to large urban places had had the option of remaining in rural places, where they could have made better use of their backgrounds and skills. While many, especially younger, better educated people, benefited from rural-to-urban migration, many others - especially older people with longer rural attachments - would have been better off if income-earning opportunities had been available to them in rural areas. Forced migration because of inadequate rural opportunities caused problems for rural and urban places - many of those who left were the most productive rural inhabitants, but their education and skills did not enable them to compete for better urban jobs. The loss of younger, better educated people impedes rural development by reducing the ratio of the productive to non-productive population.

Rural development will continue to be important for all OECD countries because our rural population, now about 230 million, will continue to be very large. Indeed, in the United States the historic rural-to-urban migration trend has been reversed and rural (or nonmetropolitan) areas are gaining population absolutely and relatively. It is expected that this trend will continue because increasing international competition, rapidly changing communications and information technology, and the financial and economic problems of older cities have combined to decentralise manufacturing to nonmetropolitan areas. In addition, almost all energy development is in rural areas. The lower costs of living and the greater availability of the amenities of life in sparsely settled areas also have caused many urban people to retire in rural places.

However, local rural development should not be designed to keep people down on the farm or in rural areas; rather, it should be to produce a better balance to relieve some of the pressures on large metropolitan areas and to improve the quality of life for rural and urban people. In short, effective local rural development would improve the options for rural and urban people, which, after all is what freedom is all about. Polls show that most people who live in rural America would like to remain there and most urban people would like to move to smaller rural communities. Economic development makes it possible for more people to realise their locational preferences.

By facilitating international comparisons and making more information available about each country, the CERI-ELD project advances our understanding of education and local development. The comparative method is a very important knowledge development technique. It helps elucidate basic principles by separating causal relationships with universal applicability from those unique to each country. We learn more about our own countries by studying and comparing our situations with others. While there is considerable diversity between OECD countries, we nevertheless get suggestions for solutions to problems by comparing innovations like those described in the CERI project materials.

These materials are very useful from both education and local rural development perspectives. It is unfortunate that the efforts to examine the relationship between rural and urban places did not materialise, because rural-urban comparisons also can deepen our understanding of the development process in both places. However, it is not surprising that urban areas displayed less interest in this project than their rural counterparts. Our experience in the United States suggests that national leaders concern themselves with rural development when urban and national problems focus attention on the connections between rural and urban problems. This was the case in the United States, for instance, during the 1960s when concern about civil rights and poverty called attention to the rural origins of these problems. In fact, most of the rural development legislation introduced during the 1960s was proposed by members of Congress from urban areas. With the improvements in rural and urban areas caused by the new development programmes of the 1960s and 1970s and by general economic progress, national and urban interest in rural development has diminished, despite the persistence of serious rural problems and the continuing linkages between rural and urban problems. A problem for rural areas is that in ordinary times their problems are less visible than those of urban places where most of the policy-makers and most of the media are located.

My principal purpose in this statement is to relate some of the main lessons that seem to flow from the CERI-ELD project experiences to earlier findings with respect to education and local rural development. My main experience, of course, has been with the United States, but as a firm believer in the comparative method, I have studied rural development in an international context. While one is forced to generalise, it always should be remembered that these generalisations conceal great diversity between our countries and between rural areas in the same country.

LOCAL RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Experience with local rural development supports a number of generalisations:

1. Local rural developers should be alert to the differences between rural and urban places. There is a common tendency to attempt to apply urban programmes and institutions to the very different rural circumstances.

It is not necessary for my purposes to reconcile the many diverse definitionsof "rural". The essential characteristic of such places is their relatively low population density. Rural areas also have more of an agrarian base and provide fewer options for local development than urban places. There tend to be relatively few rural institutions, people, and jobs, all of which tend to be less specialised than their urban counterparts. All rural institutions, whether schools, churches, health facilities or government agencies, must therefore have more of a general purpose orientation. Effective rural development consequently places a premium on the ability to combine related or necessary functions in existing institutions.

Rural institutions are also likely to be more fragile in the sense that the loss of an organisation or key individual can be more critical to the whole community - e.g. the loss of a medical doctor, the closing of a factory or school, might go unnoticed in urban places but could create a rural crisis. Rural development therefore places a premium on organisational relationships to strengthen institutions to avoid these crises and introduce greater organisational stability and viability.

Similarly, rural areas often lack the economic base to promote the development of people, a problem aggravated by the outmigration of the most productive rural residents.

As compared with urban areas, education is often of lower quality; facilities are less adequate; school attendance is lower and dropout rates higher; schools tend to be smaller and have less up-to-date materials and equipment; and transportation is likely to consume a larger proportion of rural school budgets and rural students' time.

Similarly, rural employment and training options are likely to be limited by the paucity of industry to provide sites for on-the-job training.

Other aspects of human resource development also are likely to suffer by comparison with urban areas, especially inadequate housing and medical care, and a higher incidence of chronic disease and malnutrition.

While most of these comparisons place rural people at a disadvantage, there also are advantages, especially when developers take advantage of the characteristics of the rural environment and experience to strengthen the education of young people and adults and to combine education with development in innovative ways like many of those discussed in the CERI reports. Rural experience often provides a more unified perspective on work and education than urban specialists are likely to have. Rural people also acquire habits of self-reliance and personal initiative not always available to highly interdependent and specialised urban dwellers. In short, rural experience provides advantages as well as disadvantages. The challenge for rural developers is to build on the advantages and compensate for the disadvantages.

2. Those who would promote local rural development must have a strategy or plan based on specific data about the areas to be developed. These factual bases are often not readily available for local rural areas, because rural information systems are likely to be very informal. In fact, the absence of detailed information often is a serious obstacle to local development - an obstacle that schools might overcome by using their facilities and students to collect the appropriate information. Information-gathering and analysis could strengthen the linkages between local development and education, improving both processes.

3. Local developers also should understand the nature of the development process. It is particularly important not to confuse development with growth. Growth results from an increase in output with no special concern for the distribution of the benefits of growth or its impact on local populations. Growth, for example, could be detrimental to local rural communities if most of the benefits went to outsiders, while environmental inflationary and other costs were borne by local residents.

Development, by contrast, focuses on people. Its objective is the self-fulfillment of people and the development of a community's productive forces and full human potential. While growth is not synonymous with development, development ordinarily requires growth in order to improve the living conditions and options for local rural people.

Local developers must also distinguish organic from mechanical development systems. Too many efforts at rural development are mechanical in the sense that developers attempt to impose on rural areas institutions and programmes developed either deductively or in urban contexts. These are like artificial transplants and ordinarily are not viable because they are incompatible with local rural realities.

An organic system, by contrast, is based on a careful match between the institution or programme and particular rural areas. It is based on a thorough understanding of local traditions, values, resources, and needs. An organic health or school system, for example, attempts to attract people who want to be in particular rural areas and place them in a viable organisational structure, with supporting services, linkages and reinforcements to make it possible for that system to be stable, viable and effective.

An organic system approach also requires a view of the development process as a whole, not just in isolated parts. Isolated evaluations of the economic costs and benefits of local rural schools or other institutions frequently are meaningless for policy purposes because these assessments fail to recognise that the loss of a local school, for example, would have an impact on rural development that cannot be measured in narrow economic benefit-cost terms, as is frequently the case, especially where the benefit-cost comparisons are against urban standards. Without the school, the community itself might not be viable in the long run. Benefit-cost analyses can be decision-making tools but they cannot be decision-making processes.

To develop an organic system requires knowledge of the characteristics needed by teachers, physicians or others to achieve self-fulfillment in rural institutions. This very often requires recruitment and training especially for rural service and an effort to match people with particular communities.

It has been discovered, for example, that a major determinant of whether or not professionals locate in rural areas is whether practice teaching (or medical internships) are served in rural places, the extent to which training was general or specialised and whether training was specifically for rural practice. Whether professionals remain in rural areas, perform effectively and achieve self-fulfillment depends upon the nature and stability of the systems within which they work. An important problem with many development activities sponsored by national governments is short budget or planning cycles which do not permit the long-term planning and project development required for organic systems (at least this was my experience in the United States).

4. A systems approach to development also must be based on a plan that assigns priorities to development initiatives, depending upon local needs. Development is a systematic process and therefore can be initiated with education, health, sanitation, housing, transportation or other services depending upon local

needs and priorities. The most effective local development initiatives are based on recognising the linkages between different kinds of activities and an understanding of how the synergistic relations between development activities can be strengthened. For example, there are reinforcing positive (or negative) linkages between health, nutrition, housing, incomes and education.

In creating economic opportunities, as in other things, the unique characteristics of rural areas must be considered. Since full-time high-wage jobs are likely to be scarce, a combination of part-time income opportunities often must provide the basis for adequate family incomes. These sometimes include combinations of self-employment in handicraft, service, or farming activities, and employment in manufacturing, resource-related jobs or public service programmes. It often is possible for local developers to identify income-earning opportunities that will satisfy local needs for entertainment, cultural and information services; health or child care; housing, transportation; police, fire or other protection. The CERI projects provide information about a variety of such undertakings.

5. Local developers also must develop their plans on the basis of national and international demographic and economic trends. They must recognise the implications for them of such trends as the internationalisation of the world economy and the reduction of national sovereignty over economic forces; the energy crisis; rapidly changing information and communications technologies; and the population and job problems of the Third World countries. In an increasingly interdependent world, these international imperatives impact even the smallest and most isolated rural communities.

6. Local development requires, above all, local leadership to co-ordinate the components of a development plan in such a way as to achieve community objectives. Without local leadership, genuine development is not likely to take place. Leadership is necessary to help the community define development objectives and co-ordinate and attract the necessary resources to achieve those objectives. Experience suggests that co-ordinators who understand local communities can serve as catalysts for development. Development resources frequently go unused because there is no one to identify and combine available resources to achieve development.

Local leaders likewise must be alert to the barriers to development and understand the need for mechanisms to safeguard local interests in the growth process. The barriers to local rural development include the urban bias in such major activities as finance, health, education, the media, etc. Other barriers to development include the motivation of dominant economic interests who sometimes see development (especially of people) as inimical to their interests (e.g. by raising wages or reducing dependency, thereby diminishing their political and economic control of workers). The attitudes of local rural residents also can be barriers to development. Local traditions and values often deter innovations and positive changes. People at the margin of subsistence are particularly likely to resist change, which for them is very risky.

ROLE OF EDUCATION

Education clearly is a precondition for development, both in terms of the intrinsic value of education in the development process and the use of educational facilities to promote development. Education, or trained intelligence, involves the cultivation of the mind and spirit, as well as the development of curiosity and the capacity for reasoning and contemplation. Education also can change those attitudes and institutions that impede development and can provide the cognitive skills needed to evaluate the benefits, costs, and risks involved in particular development initiatives.

The use of school facilities as community centres - as is being done in Finland - is important for the development process because, as noted, local rural organisational resources are likely to be limited. Local schools provide a sense of community pride and identity that often is a precondition for development.

In addition, as educated and trained people, teachers can provide important developmental services through community leadership and technical assistance, but especially through helping to create the knowledge base to support development plans and programme evaluations. As the innovative plans reported in the CERI project demonstrate, education can be effectively combined with development to the mutual benefit of both. This combination can demonstrate the unity of thought and action too often lost in purely academic settings. This unity is especially important in rural areas where interest in education is likely to be strengthened if its practical values are demonstrated to students and community alike. Rural areas can provide rich practical learning laboratories, but they have to be tapped by innovative teachers through nontraditional teaching processes. Projects based on local history, culture and economic activities can help unify communities that otherwise get divided by educational processes that sometimes teach values that are contrary to those held by most adults or which might alienate students from their parents; this often happens for instance with ethnic and racial minorities where educational materials and teachers are not sufficiently cognisant of (or are hostile to) local institutions, values or traditions.

Of course, just as economic growth does not always have positive effects for rural people, not all rural education is of equal value and some might even be negative. Expert opinion about the value of education for development has changed through time. A decade ago, for example, development experts gave heavy emphasis to secondary and higher education as a way to train skilled and technical workers, but gave less attention to primary education. However, careful research demonstrates primary education - especially basic literacy - to yield very high returns. The returns to secondary and higher education are considerable, and compare very favourably with the returns to physical investments, but the returns to primary education usually are significantly higher.

Critics of the value of education as a way to improve the incomes of people have argued that education is merely a credentialing and screening process, but these critics have been challenged by direct evidence that education improves physical productivity among the self-employed and workers in small enterprises, where credentialing apparently is less important. Higher productivity results from the receiptivity to new ideas, competitiveness, discipline, and modernity of outlook, all of which are heavily influenced by schooling.

Education is especially important in strengthening generalised capacities for thinking and learning, which probably are more important than the specific subjects learned, especially after basic literacy and numeracy are achieved. Education also promotes responsiveness to other training - especially training for jobs.

Education of girls and young women is particularly important for local rural development. Education for girls and young women strengthens human resource development through the educational impact of mothers on their children as well as the impact of education on health, fertility, and nutrition.

Informal and adult education programmes also can have very high pay-off for development purposes. In some cases the use of modern communications technology - especially radio - television, films and recordings have been very effective in reaching rural adults. These communications techniques have had strong positive impacts on productivity, incomes and the quality of life in remote rural areas.

Both educational and developmental activities must be targeted to racial and ethnic minorities who are often the most disadvantaged people in rural areas, but who have great difficulty relating to traditional educational materials or processes and often do not benefit very much from untargeted development.

Local rural development experience demonstrates, moreover, that just as economic growth does not always benefit rural people, not all schooling is valuable. In some cases schools tend to reinforce rather than change negative values and sometimes education is designed to make workers more docile rather than to enhance their reasoning abilities or facilitate their acceptance of change. This has been the case with schools in some company towns, for instance. Schooling also can diminish rather than strengthen students' sense of dignity and self-worth.

Finally, it might be asked why, if education is so valuable to the development process, more examples have not been found of education being used as a deliberate strategy to lead the development process. I do not know the answer to this question, but it could be that education - formal and informal - is such an integral part of development that it is rarely separated out as a special activity. For whatever reason, physical capital formation ordinarily has been the preoccupation of developers. The returns to human resource development are more subtle, complex, and diffuse. Moreover, they are not easily appropriated by profit-making enterprises. Physical investments are therefore more easily financed by banks and other financial institutions, whereas the returns to human resource development are likely to accrue to the community as a whole and over a longer period of time. Financial institutions are therefore more willing to make investments in physical capital than in people. Public resources and agencies must therefore support and serve as a catalyst for human resource development.

In conclusion, the CERI-ELD project has made some valuable contributions to an important subject. I am glad to be a part of this final conference, which, I am sure, will strengthen our understanding of the development-education linkages. Networks involving schools, colleges, universities, rural communities, development agencies, teachers and students could strengthen rural education and development and do much to improve the quality of life for rural and urban people. This is an important challenge. Even though this is the final conference of the CERI-ELD project, I hope the OECD will continue to build on the valuable foundation that project has established.

II. THE ROLE OF FORMAL EDUCATION IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT

A Keynote Address

by the Hon. Douglas McArthur

Minister of Education and Continuing Education,
Province of Saskatchewan, Canada

Let me first of all express my pleasure at being invited to attend this Conference, and more particularly, may I say that I am pleased to have the opportunity to address you this morning.

I should clarify at the outset that I am neither a professional educator, nor a long time student of educational development. I am a politician, and a member of a provincial parliament in Canada - minority of one. I have a professional, as well as a personal, interest in the relationships between social programming and human development, but beyond that I cannot claim to be an expert.

The subject that we are to address today is the relationships between formal education and local development. By formal education, I am given to understand that we are talking about primary and secondary schooling, university education and its equivalent, and institution based vocational and technical training.

No doubt the exact nature of these institutions will differ by country, but in general I presume that there is enough commonality as to make it unnecessary to pursue a more precise definition of formal education. On the other hand, the concept of local development does seem to me to need some further exploration - and this is something that I will return to periodically during the course of my remarks.

But let me say at this point that when I think of collective development, whether it be local, regional, or national, I think of two things first - economics and politics.

Why do I say this?

Well, because I believe that the fundamental prerequisites of development are:

- the creation and retention of an economic surplus that makes it possible to mobilise resources needed for development
- the creation and retention of a residual of political power that makes it possible to mobilise for action, and to overcome the many obstacles to action

- the moulding of these two into a strategy for development that is change oriented, and that enhances a knowledge and understanding of the obstacles to development, and of the measures necessary to overcome those obstacles.

Development, it seems to me, is something grander and much more ambitious than simply economic growth. Development involves a process whereby people, then institutions, and their collective lives become less dependent upon outside forces, more humane, and richer in qualitative as well as quantitative terms.

It is in many ways a struggle to realise the wholeness of human experience and the fullness of human potential - individually and collectively. It is difficult, I think, to talk about real development without looking at it in this fundamental and comprehensive way.

The whole problem of linking formal schooling, and formal education, to this kind of comprehensive notion of development is both challenging and difficult. I should note here that the final background report distributed just prior to this Conference has an excellent section on formal education, and I commend it to you. I should perhaps also say that, rather than cover that same ground, I hope to provide a slightly different perspective - I suppose that of a practising politician actively wrestling with these problems.

If I might, I would like to just digress for a moment, and refer to some historical experience we have had in the province of Saskatchewan with this whole problem. Saskatchewan - my home province - is one of four provinces located in the western hinterland of Canada. It is the most rural of all of the provinces, and farming is still by far its largest economic sector. It covers a vast land area, but the population is not large - slightly less than one million in total.

In the mid-1940s, Saskatchewan responded to all of the classic conditions of rural under-development by electing a left wing, socialist government, and embarking upon a quite radical - for North America at least - program of development. It involved both social and economic re-organisation - including co-operative development, rationalisation of major aspects of the economy, and a massive programme of new state services, with a major emphasis on the needs of rural areas. The approach is perhaps best described as one of agrarian socialism, with great emphasis placed on wresting power and control away from outside interests - and placing it in some practical way in the hands of Saskatchewan people.

Many of the practical aspects of what was to be done were laid out in the original plans, and continue to guide the actions of government today. During the early period that this overall strategy was planned, and mapped out, it was implicitly intended that formal education - and the development of the human resources - should receive major attention as part of the overall strategy. A new emphasis was to be placed on linking education to community development, with an emphasis in the curriculum on co-operatives and co-operative living, on social and economic comprehension, and on meeting the needs for trained and educated people that would arise as a result of the creation of new forms of economic, social and political organisation. Through time, however, these ideas came to receive less and less attention. The reasons for these were, I think, two-fold. First, more and more of the energy of the political leadership became consumed in the struggles and battles involved in pushing through the structural aspects of social and economic change - and particularly those with linkages outside the province.

Second, educational reform itself became co-opted by ideas associated with equality of opportunity, and improved quality, that had quite different roots. These ideas were largely promoted by professional educators who very effectively tied them to the prevailing development ideology. The energy committed to reform in education thus became diverted to the kinds of reform taking root throughout North America, including school consolidation, and the creation of comprehensive schools - all in the name of equality of opportunity.

It has not been until quite recently that many of underlying assumptions behind these reforms have come into question. But out of this questioning, there has developed today in Saskatchewan, a renewed interest in the linkages between formal education and provincial and local development. There are two general reasons for this, I think.

First of all, at the provincial level - where overall responsibility for education resides - we are more and more beginning to believe that the basic pre-conditions for further development, involving many basic changes in the social and economic order, are now essentially in place. Even though we are still an island in the larger world of monopoly capitalism, the direct domination of outside interests has now been substantially eliminated. As a result, we are now looking more and more at the internal elements of our provincial society, and at appropriate ways of ensuring that continuous development is maintained within.

The emphasis is moving toward further support for locally based development, with a strong feeling that human resources are particularly important in this respect. But to a considerable extent this is only becoming possible because our larger and prior strategies have weakened the outside constraints to development, and have generated the resources needed to support development.

Second, the possible relationships between formal education and local development is something in which local community leaders are now beginning to express a greater interest. The whole notion that the earlier reforms associated with assuring equality of opportunity have had the desired results is more and more being questioned.

A Saskatchewan conference on rural development issues held in 1979 identified improved educational/vocational services as the fourth most important rural development issue today, ahead of such things as encouragement of small business enterprises and greater economic activity at the local level. This was a conference attended by representatives of both local communities, and regional and provincial organisations and agencies.

More and more, individual communities are raising concerns about the extent to which school education is orientated towards those learning farming, and more particularly to those who will attend university. Can you not make education more relevant to our own development, they say.

These factors have led us, in government, to attempt to delve more deeply into the possible links between formal education and rural, local development.

It is not a subject upon which I can yet claim to be an authority, but I have developed some tentative thoughts that I hope might be worth sharing with you. Let me say, however, that this is still not a matter that I find professional educators in my own provinces, and my own country, to be much interested in.

There is clearly a great interest in the possible relationships of adult and non-formal education to local rural development, but not so when it comes to schools, and universities, and institutionally based vocational training. And I must confess that I have been surprised to find that this is the case, not only in my local, more parochial setting, but that it also appears to be true more generally. One need only look at respected journals, or at the OECD reviews of national educational policies, or really at any other nationally or internationally respected voice in the education field, to discover that this is true.

Certainly, this Education and Local Development Project is a welcome respite from an otherwise bleak picture, but nevertheless, I also can't help but observe that even in the case of this Project, the Background Report distributed prior to this Conference notes that "the most active work and strongest interest has come from the adult, non-formal education side."

It is my earnest hope that today's sessions will stimulate a continued interest in further exploring the relationships between the formal system and local development. But in exploring this subject I do think it rather important that we be quite rigorous and thorough in what we do. It will do little good to simply lament under-development, and to wish that schools could do more to reduce its incidence.

And likewise, it will do little good to romanticise life in under-developed and rural communities, and to wish that schools could make that life more legitimate and satisfying. Indeed, the whole purpose in linking schooling and education to development must be to aid and abet the process of development, and it is at this point that the questions become both difficult and interesting.

The concept of development is itself notoriously difficult to give general, yet at the same time, precise meaning. It is clearly a relative term, with different meanings at different stages of development and under-development. For instance, I would have trouble suggesting seriously that most rural Saskatchewan communities are now in a serious state of under-development given the presence of relatively large, highly mechanised family farms; low unemployment and under-employment and a limited incidence of real poverty.

But clearly, there are communities, in Saskatchewan, in Canada, and in industrialised countries generally, that display all the classic characteristics of under-development. Both kinds of communities, in general, aspire to develop - although not necessarily to grow. Do the solutions to the one kind of situation bear any particular relationships to the other? If not, what exactly is it that we are pursuing?

I note in some of the literature and studies an inclination to want to establish some strong relationship between lack of development or under-development, and the functioning of the education system. This, I believe is misguided, and indeed perhaps even dangerous. Whatever the linkages that it might be possible to establish between education and development may I suggest that we not fall prey to the temptation to say that, if only we had good education, we could have good local development. For whatever else we may know or not know, it should be sufficiently clear to all that education cannot carry the major burden of responsibility for development on its own.

Indeed, while appropriate forms of formal education may be a necessary condition for appropriate development, they are not, I think, a sufficient condition. Development is just too intricate and complex a process for that. To set up education for such a role is not only to doom development to failure, but also to doom education itself to failure in the public eye.

This is not to suggest that there are not many important linkages that can exist between the formal education system and local development. Clearly, the existence of a school, or other educational institution in a community, does create local employment, and local cash flow. This relationship should not be disregarded, particularly when considering school closures in small communities in order to centralise the provision of educational services. Again, however, I am skeptical about giving much weight to this particular argument.

Another argument that can be advanced is that schools in small communities can provide more general, non-educational services that are needed if such communities are to provide an adequate quality of life. Recreation, evening adult social and learning activities, and child health and social services can obviously be economically provided through schools and school facilities provided adequate supports are available. But the real question, from a developmental perspective, is to ensure that those supports are there - which quickly takes one from education to a quite different developmental concern. So once again, I am skeptical about attempting to make too much out of this particular linkage.

Another argument sometimes advanced in support of a linkage between formal education and development is that an educated citizenry is critical for economic growth and development generally. I have no doubt in my mind that this is true - and it certainly makes a powerful argument for education as a whole. The more difficult problem is one of how to extrapolate this fact to an under-developed area, or a hinterland, where development may be stymied by larger constraints. And, even if those constraints can be eliminated, there is still the problem of how to target education so as to be supportive of the developmental possibilities and strategies adopted at the sub-regional and local levels.

It is true, I think, that a starting point for linking education to development is the understanding and sympathy that the school has for the local community itself. One of the great disasters of modern education is that it has become such a sterile and standardized product, too often purged of anything but "officially" or "professionally" established knowledge and wisdom. The practical result of this has been that what is taught in schools is purged of any content that deals sympathetically with the culture and lifestyle that the student draws from his or her own homes and community life.

It is not just that schools have an urban orientation - although the stereotype of the good life implicitly projected is, I think, generally reflective of one particular sub-set of urban life. Rather, the problem is that schools and educational institutions have not developed either the will, or the practical means, of portraying local community life generally in a positive light. The result is, too often, I think, that students develop a sense of alienation partly in terms of their schools, but also in terms of their own local cultural and social life.

Where this happens there is no doubt some implicit encouragement to abandon one's life in the local community, and to seek satisfaction elsewhere. But even worse, for those who stay, an attitude develops that tends to devalue the collective nature of one's existence, with a loss of commitment to the possibility of that collective existence maturing and improving. And this, I think, cannot help but be inimical to local development - for any kind of development requires commitment.

There is thus often a need for a greater pluralism in the content of education - and in the attitudes of teachers - in order to ensure that the school does reflect an attitude of sympathy and understanding of community (although this is something that is happening in many schools today, to give them credit).

Another possibility that is being explored in many quarters today is that schools and educational institutions might do a better job of preparing young people for the more practical aspects of life in the community. It is true, I think, that too many formal educational institutions have failed to recognise that many students will live and work in their home communities, and that their life can be more fulfilling and productive if education better prepares them for this.

The answer to this problem clearly lies in curriculum reform, which often in itself involves a redefinition of education, and what it is. One measure - introducing community related vocational education into what still is, and accepted to be, a good education is still not widely accepted, particularly in small rural schools where specialist teachers are not available. This is a specific matter that we in Saskatchewan have been addressing as part of our renewal attempts to link education to local rural needs, and the opposition, particularly from teachers has been quite remarkable.

The concerns appear to be two-fold. The first is the belief that a good education must be geared to post-secondary entrance - a quite remarkable belief given the still relatively small number of students who pursue post-secondary studies. The second is that teacher knowledge and teacher resources are not adequate to do the job. The suggestion that work experience programmes, and non-teacher community expertise be used to support the school is, from my experience, still treated with skepticism by teachers - although this looks to me to be the most practical course to follow. But even these measures, as attractive and useful as they appear, in that they clearly support the stay option - something that we have adopted as an explicit element of rural development strategy - do not, it seems to me, get to the real crux of the problem of relating education to local development.

Development involves change, and the ability to sustain that change. It is not just a few more people in the community, and it is not just a bit more cash flow - as marginally helpful as these may be. It always involves challenging the status quo in the community, and its defenders, in some form or other.

If real development is to take place, the changes that will occur will often involve relatively major changes in the social and economic order - in the community, and beyond the community. The reality is that if we really wish to address the basic questions of the linkage between formal educational institutions and development, we must face this fact. Clearly, it is attractive to suggest that the formal system should have a role in such a process of change - after all the human element is often the most critical in initiating and maintaining change. The educational system - with its intimate connections with knowledge, understanding, and human development - could, on the face of it, play a major role both at the leading edge of change, and in support of change. But let us be frank, there is a very real problem here.

Development, involving change, is an unashamedly political undertaking. A strategy for change must be worked out - and that will by its very nature have ideological underpinnings. And for the change to be continuing and sustaining, the political will to support it must be developed.

All of that brings the whole process into the hurly-burly, and the conflict of politics. Conflicts of interest, and conflicts of ideology, are inevitable. And here, it seems to me, we have the crux of the problem.

Schools and the educational institutions in the formal system have, in today's world, become committed to universal accessibility and universal participation. Schools are for everyone, and as such have great trouble offending large parts of the community. If they do, the consensus in support of them - so critical to universal participation as an ideal - is in danger of crumbling.

It thus seems to me that if schools and other formal education institutions are to play a leading role in change, it will for all practical purposes largely centre on those aspects of development around which a substantial consensus has developed.

The problem of how to get that consensus to develop thus becomes much more a problem of community development than it does of schooling. But this does perhaps help explain why community development initiatives are much more likely to look to the adult, voluntary systems for help and assistance during the most difficult and interesting stages.

However, let me be very clear - I am not suggesting that schools should not have a role in supporting development. Indeed, as a consensus takes shape around an ideology and a strategy for development, schools very much can and should help to sustain the new frame of economic, social and political organisation constructed. Schools should accept the responsibility for confirming the legitimacy of these things, as well as for providing young people with the knowledge and skills necessary to make them work.

Unfortunately, this is something that I think very few formal educational systems do well. Even after change has been initiated and legitimatised, formal educational institutions, and schools in particular, appear to me generally to be the most conservative of institutions. Seldom are they willing to sustain and strengthen the new developments - particularly at the local level - whether they be political, economic, or social.

This seems to me a problem that is not one of curriculum, and not one of pedagogy - it is one of democracy. The questions of curriculum and pedagogy could be easily enough answered, if the will to respond was there.

School governors, school administrators, and teachers who fail to be sensitive and responsive to having the school support development under the conditions I outline appear to me to exhibit a serious anti-democratic view. This leads me to conclude that the most important measure required to link schools to development is to alter the power structure within schools themselves, and to educate those within the system about the real nature of democracy.

POINTS RAISED IN DISCUSSION FOLLOWING Mr. McARTHUR'S ADDRESS

Ms Shirley Randell - How can we achieve local control of education?

Mr. McArthur - It is difficult to generalise about appropriate means of changing the established power structure. Educational systems are not normally responsive to change, but the key objective is to ensure a political consensus at both national and local levels which is based on real community involvement; it is not sufficient simply to establish local control, for example by means of elected school boards or councils.

Ms Randell - Surely educating people for democracy is not a pedagogical or curriculum matter but a political issue?

Mr. McArthur - Agreed; it is the school power structure which must be educated to recognise the importance of democracy.

Dr. I. Carter - It is a continual struggle to "establish consensus on the place of education in rural development", particularly where there are institutions which intervene between the state and the individual.

Mr. McArthur	- I was not suggesting the destruction of intermediate institutions but their democratisation. The grass roots development of agrarian socialism in Saskatchewan has led to corresponding changes in state and local institutions; I recognise that too often, however, there is a substantial political consensus to change both nationally and locally which is resisted by institutions, but that is another problem.
Mr. M. Clark	- To what extent do your ideas envisage a dependence on forces outside the established school system?
Mr. McArthur	- Inevitably, particularly in the short term, most responsibility rests on outside forces (citizens groups and government leadership), but tension and conflict is inherent in such a situation.
Dr. R. Marshall	- It is surely important to distinguish between formal education as an institution and education as a process or function (to create "trained intelligence"); whilst leaders of educational institutions do not necessarily help promote change, trained intelligences do.
Mr. McArthur	- That is an important distinction; my emphasis is on the nature of the institution and how it can cope with the problem. Literacy and numeracy are very important but are only a support; I consider that adversity is the only real force for change.
Professor R. C. Whitfield	- Educational professionalism may often appear to be on a collision course with political ideology, because it is usually child-centred and designed to maximise individual potential and is not necessarily community-orientated; how can there be meaningful negotiation and how can there be cultural diversity in education in the face of international demands for basic educational standards?

Mr. McArthur - My remarks were not intended to be anti-professional; indeed my experience is that the greatest resistance to change comes from headteachers and administrators, but there is no simple means of dealing with that problem. Any solution must be based on national political leadership and genuine community involvement, as well as attempts to establish agreement on objectives e.g. with teachers' unions, so as to establish a dynamic, creative balance. I see no serious risk of educationally unacceptable diversity through excessive localisation.

Dr. A. Randell - Why should non-formal and adult education have been particularly successfully linked to development? Is it because they are generally free from society's pressure for certification?

Mr. McArthur - That is essentially a matter for tomorrow's discussion, but the only point I wanted to make was that non-formal education was generally more successful, partly because (unlike formal education) it is not institutionalised as a means of social engineering and is better able to intervene and anticipate consensus.

Mr. S. Alegre - There is surely a conflict between efficiency and equity in relating short-, medium-and long-term objectives to the context of social-economic development; social infrastructure may be neglected because of greater emphasis on promoting capital-intensive industry, and because politicians have not formulated clear goals.

Mr. McArthur - There has been an unrealistic assumption that development and economic growth are inevitably linked, but this cannot be justified. These important issues can be resolved, and it is a weakness of developmental models that these distinctions are not recognised; in Canada, for example, the development of agrarian socialism has involved the rejection of pure capitalism in the form of large economic enterprises. We must have faith in the participative community.

III. THE ROLE OF ADULT AND NON-FORMAL EDUCATION IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Keynote address by

Dr. Philip Coombs,

Vice-Chairman,

International Council for Education Development

I have examined the seven findings about the role of adult and non-formal education in rural development offered in the OECD's background paper for this Conference. They inspired me to jot down a number of comments, not opposed to the OECD's findings, but rather to elaborate upon them. On the whole, I found them quite satisfactory. Then I tried, in order to give at least the illusion of a well structured presentation, to file these points under five categories. I should say at the outset that whatever I've learned about non-formal education in the context of rural development I've learned from actual programmes in rural areas, especially in the developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

We have concentrated our time in the last ten years going out doing on-the-spot case studies of actual rural programmes to learn from them what are the particular factors which help these programmes to achieve their goals, as well as what are the factors that inhibit them or prevent them sometimes from achieving their goals. By doing a comparative analysis of these different cases in quite different contexts we discovered that while there are obvious uniquenesses in each situation, there is a surprising commonality in the basic problems that were encountered in place after place. We also think we've discovered a number of basic principles that emerged from these cases that can serve operators in all countries (or at least all developing countries) quite usefully.

The process we used is to go out and talk with a good cross section of operators before we even start a project and find out what is on their minds, what are their real problems, upon which some research and analysis might shed some useful light - even while recognising that it won't ever give them complete answers. We found that the operators, by which I mean top, middle and lower level policy makers, planners and especially programme managers, are very responsive to this type of on-the-spot research. More and more they have come to believe that they can learn a good deal from each other's experiences and there's been too little effort on the whole to cull out the lessons of experience and exchange them within countries and across country lines. That's what we've been trying to do in this Conference on a modest scale.

I will be using the very broad concept of education which, unlike the old concept that equates education with school, equates it much more broadly with learning irrespective of where, or how, or at what age the learning occurs. It also implies that learning is a life-long process starting from earliest infancy right through adulthood. Rather than simply looking at a national educational system as the learning instrument of a nation, we visualise a broader network of learning facilities and learning processes that ideally can provide all citizens, whatever their age, and fulfil their particular learning needs at different points in their life - no matter what those learning needs may be at that point. That, at least conceptually, is the framework within which I am talking.

Similarly I am using a much broader concept of rural development than was customary among development economists and planning commissions up to a few years ago. Then it was essentially equated with increased agricultural production and increased output of commercial and exportable crops. While that clearly is an important element of rural development, it is far too narrow. The one I'm using essentially equates rural development with the transformation of rural societies, economically, socially, politically, and agriculturally.

So let me come to my first category which is the half dozen common confusions and misconceptions about this term "non-formal education". There is still a good deal of confusion about it, not least of all amongst professional educators whose thinking is naturally strongly coloured by the pre-existing formal system. Many educators view non-formal education as the new girl in town. She is intriguing because she's different, has a very flexible style and is rumoured to have a very high potential, but they are hesitant to cosy up to her too closely lest they get in trouble with the old girls. The truth of the matter is, historically, non-formal education (as we use the term today) far pre-dates the formal education systems found throughout the world. It goes back to the earliest human societies where we made organised provisions to pass on the traditions, banners, technologies and values of that society to each new generation. They did it through tribal rites, for example, where young warriors were instructed by their chief hunter in the technologies of hunting and fighting. So we find in the earliest societies examples of non-formal education by which we simply mean any consciously organised learning activity outside the formal system that is purposely directed towards meeting particular learning needs of particular clients or groups. That's all it means, it's a handy label for an advanced assortment of different kinds of learning arrangements that are consciously organised outside the formal system although they may have connections with the formal system.

We also refer to "informal education", which is different from non-formal education. By informal we mean that kind of day-to-day learning that goes on by all people in their environments. A young child acquires its mother tongue from the family, not in any organised way but almost through the pores. In many things what we learn, in fact most of what we learn in a lifetime, is acquired in this manner, on the job, in the playground, in the family, in the neighbourhood, on a trip and so forth.

So there are these three categories: formal, non-formal and informal. They occasionally overlap and there are certainly grey areas between them. Formal education and non-formal are both organised and intentional, whereas informal education is not organised and frequently involves what one may call unconscious learning. It is important to emphasize that non-formal education is not the panacea for all the ills and shortcomings of formal education. Nor is it a substitute that should replace formal education. Quite the contrary. Both are obviously needed. The trick is to get each to do what it does best and to keep them as related as possible.

One of the great advantages of non-formal education is that, by its very nature, it can be much more flexible and much more quickly responsive to the specific learning needs of particular people. It can tap resources not generally available to the formal system - all sorts of under-utilised facilities, volunteers, people, contributions in kind, etc. - thereby actually adding to the portion of the GNP going into learning.

Make no mistake however, non-formal education also frequently needs hard cash and that's always hard to come by. If you make an inventory of non-formal education programmes conducted by, or with the support of, government you find that such funding normally does not come through the budget of the Ministry of Education. It comes through the Ministry of Agriculture, of Health, of Labour, of Social Welfare or others. So it's scattered around and it doesn't become a visible target for the budget cutters. When it is in the Ministry of Education's budget, in direct competition with the demands of the formal education system, non-formal activities invariably lose the battle. Sooner or later it becomes the lowest priority, perhaps because the constituency for non-formal education is less organised and less powerful than the formal education constituency.

Beyond its flexibility, another great advantage of non-formal education is that participation in it is generally voluntary. What this means is that the consumers are able to evaluate, and in a sense control, non-formal programmes in a manner that unhappily the consumers of formal education cannot do. Students in schools are a captive audience and they have to take what they are given whether it is good or poor quality. But participants in a rural literacy programme, for example, may be attracted by the idea of becoming literate, but if the way it is taught isn't their style, if it bores them, if they are not learning, they vote with their feet against it and the programme must either adapt or die.

Let us turn now to a few comments on the very practical business of planning and organising non-formal education programmes. Education, as we all know, is susceptible to fashions - they come and they go. Often they never get beyond the initial stage. We were very careful when we started to use the term non-formal education. Now it too can become one more fad that might live for a few years but then die off to be replaced by some other fashion. This would be tragic. The first reactions to the idea of non-formal education from various Ministries of Education was very favourable. They wanted to take charge of it and use it to add to their empires. Most of them soon found that strategy wouldn't work for several reasons. Number one, they already had their hands more than full if they wanted to keep that leaking ship (i.e. formal education) that was consuming their time and budget afloat. Secondly, they did not have the expertise for most non-formal programmes. Thirdly, it soon became clear that conventional educational planning being used for formal education has little relevance or value for non-formal education. The fourth point I mentioned before in the context of the Ministry of Education - inevitably non-formal education will get a low priority, though it may get a very high priority in certain other ministries.

Now this isn't to say that Ministries of Education cannot make some very important contributions to non-formal education - partly by popularising the whole idea, partly by the things they can do that are relevant to the Ministry, such as promoting continuing education activities through university facilities. Also it can, if it so chooses to, become an important service agency for other ministries and voluntary organisations that need help, practical help, with their non-formal programmes. Being a service agency is quite different from being a directive controlling agency.

Another point about planning and organisation is that even amongst adult educators, many times, there is a tremendous compulsion to design a non-formal programme so that it looks and behaves like a formal programme. Thus, the tendency is to base it on classrooms, and a teacher must come with a textbook in order to legitimise the activity. This works for certain kinds of audiences who are familiar with (and comfortable with) classrooms and accustomed to textbooks and teachers. It doesn't work at all with certain subjects and with certain audiences.

In India, they have a fascinating programme called the "Voluntary Programme" and one of its main elements is public health. Villagers elect to have a health system and choose their own medical doctor. These doctors are trained constantly and backed up by the professional personnel of the programme. They wanted to bring in the indigenous midwives called "dais" who are frequently the only health workers in the area. They needed to improve some of their techniques, some of which were non-sanitary, for example, and led to diseases for the mothers. So they planned a little training programme for dais. They put them in classrooms, drew pictures, started to tell them how to do things - and they got absolutely nowhere.

It was apparently a negative experience for the dais to go into a classroom. The school was always a part of another world to them. So the programme leaders tried another way and took the dais into the villages and demonstrated new techniques to them, assisted in actual deliveries, advised pregnant mothers, and provided follow-up advice and assistance. They did it where the dais live, they saw explanations given, questions answered and the dais picked up a lot of new ideas, techniques and practices. They could never have taught the same information as effectively through the schools or school-like programmes. There is a rural bias toward experiential education (that is, learning by doing), which the best non-formal initiatives utilise. One reason that formal literacy programmes almost invariably fail is that you get all the adults in the primary school and first they can't fit behind the desk or on the chairs. The primary teacher is usually mobilised and eager to teach them. She teaches them the same way she teaches children. The stuff they are trying to read is written for children. The adults are offended, they are talked down to, like they don't know anything of value or are failures at learning. In reality, it's just that adult learning styles are quite different from those of children. You've got to link literacy with other action programmes before they're going to really have meaning for the adult learner. The basic principle here is not limited to literacy work. I think we have to resist the compulsion to make non-formal education mimic formal school programmes.

A survey was recently done in just a few rural regions and the researchers uncovered approximately five hundred identifiable rural education and development programmes in need. Most of these were small, serving a very limited area. The very fact that they were there was important because these are the foundations upon which you can build instead of being forced to start from scratch. Most of them are authentic. They have authentic local groups and interest and support. It's far easier to build on something that is there than start something new.

A further reason for compiling this sort of inventory of needs is to match it up with a rough inventory of available local resources. It isn't too hard to make these inventories if you don't get too fancy about it. Be wary of the social science departments of universities. When you give them this job, the first thing they'll want is a computer and a very refined demographic analysis. You don't need that very refined kind of survey to understand where the gaps are in local development and in local learning opportunities, nor do you need such sophistication in order to identify potentially useful allies and resources.

We're still left with an important question I raised earlier: how do you open up the existing resources of knowledge and assistance? There are different ministries, different universities, different private organisations. Why not try to open them up and get them tied into a kind of knowledge delivery system that can be tapped easily from the village or from urban neighbourhoods? You find that there is a tremendous variety of resources even in developing countries. The radio, for example, is the most under utilised educational medium with a high potential that we have run across. The trouble is the hardware is all there but the software isn't - at least the current programmes are not very effective most of the time in promoting local development or fulfilling learning needs of rural residents.

I would visualise a network of non-formal education resource centres that can generate tailored materials on demand to assist local initiatives. I've seen one private organisation that's very effective in New York. It's a non-profit organisation. It makes contracts with different ministries. It prepares films and learning materials. They're very busy creating materials to fit certain needs that the big ministries cannot take care of themselves and the small voluntary agencies cannot take care of themselves. The first country that sets up a good outfit of this sort surely is going to get a lot of visitors from other countries - making connections between the knowledge sources and those who need such knowledge.

One other suggestion is to focus on the family, the whole family and upon the community as the primary habitat of the family. What you discover, especially in rural areas, is that the most pressing learning needs are frequently family learning needs. If you just think in terms of the children or the mother or the father - the way we in Western society who have grown up in a highly individualistic way look at things - you're going to miss the target. Frequently large parts of the community will need the same thing. They have common problems, so you've got to use a wide-angled lens for the appropriate learning needs. Communities and nations have learning needs and we go about the curriculum development process therefore not simply with individual learning in view but with larger group learning needs in mind, too.

Finally don't forget that informal education (which is in the end the most important for anybody) is limited to what that individual's learning environment contains. You can do a lot over time to enrich the learning environment in any situation. Back home in the States the learning environment has become over-rich, but not necessarily always with the right kind of learning. Because of television primarily, the atmosphere is overloaded, but often with misinformation or distorted stereotypes. Local libraries do enrich the opportunities for learning within the reach of any particular group.

Where we're all heading, and we're well along the trail, is not simply toward a society with better and better schools but to a learning society in which the schools prepare people to learn for the rest of their lives and help them develop an appetite for continuous learning. The big job now is to flesh out the network so there is something to learn and some ways to learn after you leave school. By enhancing learning opportunities at the non-formal and informal levels, we can go a long way toward triggering the kind of human resource development which lies at the heart of meaningful rural community development.

IV. A SCOTTISH EDUCATION DEPARTMENT PERSPECTIVE

by Mr. R.S. Johnston

H.M. Chief Inspector of Schools (Northern Division)

Scottish Education Department

One of the most satisfying aspects of this final conference at Stornoway on Education and Local Development in Rural Areas was that it did not come suddenly, or tangentially, upôn the Scottish scene. Scottish geography and winter climate, of course, make education in rural areas one of our abiding concerns but stimuli are regularly needed to compel a review of policy and practice. The international studies promoted by OECD have provided an important stimulus; the more so since they have been sustained over a period of six years, 1975-1981.

The decision by OECD to follow the earlier theme of Basic Education and Teacher Support, which entailed a comprehensive scrutiny of the mainly formal provision of primary and secondary education in rural areas, with the wider theme of Education and Local Development in Rural Areas, meant that an international organisation had given not only the conventional fillip to a more concerted study of education in rural areas but had actually assisted that continuity of concern which is so important in education but so elusive.

Scotland has been represented at most of the conferences on both themes, including the initial meeting convened by the OECD to draw up the framework for the investigations. Our representatives have been policy-makers attached to both central and local government and persons engaged in research. Scottish personnel have participated in study tours of Norway and Western Australia. We succeeded in compiling the comprehensive "country papers" and selective illustrations of working practice; the fundamental value of these to the producing country is considerable - they constitute a record, a basis for concerted development, and they establish, or strengthen, a network of individuals and bodies only partially recognised hitherto. The Scottish Education Department published "Off the Beaten Track", a series of studies of education in rural areas; one of the virtues of that publication was that it gave the opportunity for excellent, unsung teachers to describe their work. The range of support given by our Colleges of Education to rural schools was given a greater place in the sun, and its principles were more precisely analysed. Research, such as that by the Aberdeen University Institute for the Study of Sparsely Populated Areas, was further encouraged and the Scottish Education Research Association sponsored an opportune conference on rural education in Inverness. The OECD/CERI report - Rural Education in Urbanized Nations - contains a major contribution and case-study from Scotland. If the essential purposes of CERI are to release particular activities in individual countries and to spur them to examine their policy and provision in the light of acquaintance with developments in other countries, then the

Scottish involvement in the first investigation of Basic Education and Teacher Support has been fully justified. The momentum is likely to continue. It is no accident that the theme of rural education is now figuring in the national in-service training programme and a course on rural community is being developed at Aberdeen College of Education. It is no accident that there has been an increase in the provision of regional conferences for teachers from rural schools. It is no accident that the circumstances of small secondary schools are being very carefully weighed in the revision of the secondary school curriculum for pupils in their last two years of secondary education, and that the rural authorities are being given every opportunity to participate in the pilot developments.

It was logical, therefore, that we should contemplate participation in the second investigation of Education and Local Development in Rural Areas. Our Ministers readily agreed to full involvement and representatives from both the school and post-school sections of HM Inspectors of Schools were enabled to play a leading part in the compilation of the Scottish Country Paper and in assisting the writing-up of case studies in two other countries - these transpired to be the New Enterprise Promotion of the Development Board for Rural Wales and the Manchester Business School, and the Regional College at Sogndal, Norway. The Scottish Education Department arranged a meeting to apprise other government departments of the purposes of the study, to secure their interest, and arrange for the appropriate assembling of evidence for the Country Paper. Negotiations were held to prepare three Scottish case studies, namely with Highland region, the Highlands and Islands Development Board, and the Manpower Services Commission to produce a study of Vocational Education and Training in Highland; with the Western Isles Islands Council and the Highlands and Islands Development Board to study Non-formal Education and Development in Iochdar, South Uist; and, on the basis of funds granted by the Scottish Development Department, the Ernest Cook Foundation, and the Scottish Education Department, to study Voluntary Organisations as Resources for Education and Local Development in the North Perthshire area of Tayside. We are very grateful to all those agencies, and others, for their co-operation.

It is worth mentioning at this point that the CERI decision to "stay with" the rural theme over two projects enabled us to distribute our attention over the different sectors of education. Having concentrated on the formal, compulsory sector in the investigation of Basic Education and Teacher Support we took advantage of the subsequent investigation of Education and Local Development to concentrate on the post-school sector, formal and informal; but the ELD project did offer a rare opportunity for all sectors of education to focus on the same issues.

All this without the opportunity to demonstrate a national commitment by hosting one of the international conferences would have lacked something. It was with real satisfaction, therefore, that the Scottish Education Department received the invitation from the OECD to co-operate with them in planning the final ELD conference at an appropriate location in Scotland. The invitation was not accepted without some trepidation. It is natural to expect the host country to be able to demonstrate not only a general interest in the conference theme, not only a genuine affinity with the theme, but authentic initiatives in pursuit of the theme. These expectations in relation to the width of a theme such as Education (i.e. formal and non-formal) and Local Development (i.e. social, cultural, economic), implying co-operation among central government departments, between central and local government, among regional authority departments, between statutory and voluntary bodies, in rural areas, some of them with dispersed settlements, little "resident" infra-structure or physical establishment - these expectations are not a little breathtaking. At the time when we received the invitation we were already aware of the modest note the Conclusion to our Scottish Country Paper was likely to strike. Nevertheless, we had no hesitation in agreeing to hold the final ELD conference in Scotland.

A word or two about Stornoway as a location for the Conference would not go amiss. There was no shortage of suitable venues in Scotland, and some of them would have been more conveniently accessible both to delegates from other countries and to our own people. But Stornoway it had to be. From the outset the Western Isles Island Council had made its interest in the CERI studies sincerely evident. The Director of Education agreed to represent Scotland at occasions in other countries. The Western Isles had assiduously compiled relevant case-studies. More fundamental, activity in both the education and development contexts in the Western Isles was germane to the ELD theme, and generally active. So Stornoway it was.

There was one major disappointment in our plans for the conference. We were anxious that delegates from outside Scotland should have the opportunity for more than a fleeting experience of relevant developments "in the field". To this end we were prepared to arrange for several small study groups to be deployed in different parts of Scotland for periods of three days or so in the week before the formal conference. Certain of these tours had been firmly planned and personnel were standing by to accompany delegates. The variety of aspects of the ELD theme argued for the range of tours we had in mind; delegates would have met in conference with substantive experiences; and, of course, the formal conference programme could have been more relaxed. In the event, very, very few delegates were able to justify the increased time, and the increased expense which the pre-conference study tours entailed. We had to be content with one-day field visits in the Western Isles as part of a crowded five-day Conference.

By all accounts, the conference went well. For its administrative efficiency and excellent spirit we owe much to the Western Isles Island Council, It was particularly gratifying to have the frequent presence, and sustained interest, of elected members as well as the Director of Education and officials. We are grateful to OECD for the invitation to hold the Conference in Scotland. Co-operation with their representatives, Dr. Sher and Jarl Bengtsson, was always easy and constructive; these professional and personal relationships were well founded long before the conference was mooted.

At the time of writing, two months have passed since the conference and our thoughts are turning to follow-up within Scotland. It is too early to be definitive but we hope there can be follow-up at two levels - national and local - and that we can maintain momentum through statutory and voluntary bodies with responsibilities for either education or development. Some of the most effective consequences will be practical and (apparently} limited in that they will develop from particular contexts. They will be in tune with these extracts from the Conclusion to the Scottish Country Paper:

"With notable exceptions, however, the survey suggests that the actual working relationships among some organisations are spasmodic and tentative. The most effective work of one organisation may not be known to another. Among the factors contributing to a certain lack of coherence in the interaction of education and local development are these:

- In the consideration of policy and practice, those in "education" and those in "development" operate in different time-scales. The "developers", who have to be adept at responding to constant, specific change, can be impatient of the pace of education, and may prefer ad hoc contacts to long-term relationships.

- Some organisations, particularly those related to institutions, operate under general constraints which limit their response to small-scale needs in locations far from campus.

- Organisations are prone to what may either be over-respect, or jealous regard, for other organisations (or other sectors of the same organisation) with adjacent responsibility.

- The distinction between "education" and "training" may inhibit the best use of the tool resources available.

- Field staff working in community education, whether on behalf of statutory or voluntary bodies, are not substantially trained in, or orientated towards, economic development.

In pointing to these possible sources of inhibition, we are conscious of appearing to imply the feasibility and/or desirability of some eternal, grand strategy for rural development. We mean, more realistically, to suggest that as one agency conceives an initiative it should, from the outset, examine the value of explaining its design to other agencies with territorial and/or functional interests, and seek active partnerships.

The evidence would suggest that an essential component in the education of, first, all young people in the 14-18 range in rural areas and then, recurrently, for adults, is the opportunity to learn the general organisational framework for the development of rural communities. The effort to find the most appropriate contexts for this learning, which would include the study of enterprising operations and opportunities for acquiring the many types of skill which engagement in development may require, would necessitate the co-operation of 'education' and 'local development'. This co-operation would be in tune with concepts such as community education and schools-industry liaison."

V. A VIEW FROM THE WESTERN ISLES

by N. R. Galbraith,

Director of Education,
Western Isles

When I was asked for an assessment of the impact of the OECD Conference held in the Western Isles, the key question was put: "Was it worth the effort?"

In reviewing the situation I would have to answer in the very definite positive for a number of reasons, some relevant to the Western Isles and others relevant to the Conference itself.

At a very basic - and self-interested - level the preconditions of the Conference galvanised the local authority into the modernisation and completion of its simultaneous translation facilities, into the extension and refurbishment of its catering facilities and into the deployment of many of its staff away from normal duties on to a programme which made considerable demands in terms of organisation and co-operation.

The enthusiasm with which the translators approached their energy-sapping task, the patience with which the catering staff coped with material needs, and the good nature with which the professional staff dealt with the Conference problems, more than compensated for all the necessary pre-conference spadework.

More importantly, the Western Isles extracted a great deal of value from the Conference. Acting as the location for what was in itself merely one in a series of conferences on "Education and Local Development", the Western Isles had the advantage of its international visitors focussing attention on the local area. It was fascinating to observe the bringing into play of the varying insights and experiences of so many professionals who were familiar with the problems of remote rural areas. The debriefing following the study tours was a revelation of the extent to which, even in a very short time, it was possible for a group of professionals to analyse the problems peculiar to one locale. The articulation of the general observations against a backdrop of interest in problem-solving provided not only a lively interlude at the Conference, but also much food for thought thereafter.

The Conference, however, was rather more than one in a series. Acting as the location of the final conference on education and local development conferred an extra benefit on the Western Isles in that the main focus of the conference was external to the local area. Examination of a range of international experiments demonstrated that the problems of education and development in remote rural communities were not confined to one limited area, and were not regarded as unimportant in the scale of world problems. To that extent the Western Isles became included in the mainstream of international concern over education and local development with a consequent reorganisation of outlook and appreciation that geographical location on the periphery of Europe did not preclude involvement and participation in a universal search for courses of positive action.

In essence an interesting pattern of dualities emerged from the Conference.

The working languages of proceedings were English and French. In a situation of search for meaning the parallel use of the two languages emphasized both the need for careful definition of terms and the fact that problems of education and development transcended all barriers and divisions, including the linguistic divide.

The inward and outward focii of the Conference set *en scène* the microcosm of the Western Isles against the macrocosm of the world allowing Conference participants the luxury of both intellectual concentration and latitude at one and the same time.

The presence of specialists from educational backgrounds and specialists from development backgrounds brought about a mix of the theoretical and practical approaches and compelled delegates to re-examine constantly their basic stances in the light of the formative and summative submissions from contributors.

Examination of aspects of development established the major considerations of economic development and human resources development, underlining the nature of educational input in terms of the possible and the practicable. Given the differing world views of participants it was remarkable the extent to which a consensus view emerged that development could not, and must not, be defined in narrow economic terms.

The Western Isles, is an area where the problems require a hard-edged analytical approach and where human resources development is crucial to the future, gained from the OECD Conference not only the equivalent of a major boost to self-confidence but also a potent guide to future action.

No assessment from the viewpoint of the Western Isles could fail to accentuate the fact that the Conference jolted the area out of its insular, particular, inward-looking, stance. To that extent, the impact of the Conference on the Western Isles was enormous and the effort of mounting the Conference more than amply recompensed.

VI. REPORTS OF WORKSHOPS AND SPECIAL SESSIONS

1. RURAL SITUATIONS IN OECD REGIONS

A panel of five speakers explained the similarities and differences between rural areas in representative OECD member states.

Scandinavia: Professor Karl Jan Solstad, University of Tromsø, Norway.

In the 1950s and 1960s, a significant fall in the birth-rate, coupled with substantial outmigration, had in most rural areas led to a declining and increasingly elderly population; centralisation of educational facilities meant that most children over 12 were educated away from home, and economic activity was focussed on large units. In the 1970s, this trend was slowed if not reversed; in North Norway, for example, although depopulation continued, few rural areas faced a declining population, and few urban areas an increasing population, and in most areas an increase in the number of households has led to a social and economic consolidation. This greater local prosperity in rural areas was the result of several factors, including:

- the introduction of a 5-day working week which, with better communications, encouraged commuting;
- improved economic returns from private sector enterprises, especially farming;
- central government grants to local authorities to employ local planners, decentralise education, etc.;

all of which meant that the local social and economic structure was modified in response to the needs of the people.

In the 1980s, this trend was continuing; the structure of educational provision, with small decentralised comprehensive secondary schools in the upper stages of compulsory schooling, was an important encouragement for young couples to settle in rural areas; local priorities had a much greater influence on the curriculum; efforts were made to integrate work and schooling, for example by allowing pupils to spend one day a week in local industries; and an adequate supply of trained teachers was obtained by decentralising pre-service training (students spending only a few weeks each year at college, the rest of the time in the schools).

Western Europe: **Dr. Ian Carter**, Director of the Institute for the Study of Sparsely Populated Areas, Aberdeen University, Scotland.

Variation: Northern Europe is a large area in political and economic terms, and it is difficult to generalise either about the rural situation or its problems. For example, the agricultural sector is to a large extent polarised between capital-intensive units and crofting/peasant/family farms, with a different balance in each area. There is no clear pattern of demographic trends. Increasing capitalisation may lead to unemployment and population decline, elsewhere to change in the economic structure. One fairly consistent change, however, is the replacement of the native local population by articulate urban refugees, often with very different objectives and values.

Integration: It is often not possible to consider rural problems in isolation without misunderstanding their nature; thus the social and economic difficulties of the mezzogiorno, Southern Italy, are related to the role of its population as a reservoir of labour for industry in the North of Italy.

Intervention: Regional variations in a naturally homogeneous social and economic structure are often the result of different regimes leading to variations in the nature and extent of state intervention; e.g., in agricultural subsidies.

The rural situation in Western Europe is essentially political; strong rural-based political parties with a coherent policy can maintain a healthy social and economic structure, but urban-based political parties whose objectives are not related to rural interests can encourage stagnation and depopulation.

Southern Europe: John Higgs, Chairman of the Arkleton Trust.

Portugal, Spain, Southern France, Italy and Greece have a very large residual agricultural population, with farming, fishing and forestry often accounting for 25 per cent or more of total employment (whereas in Northern Europe, they generally account for less than 10 per cent of employment). However, there is a major imbalance of resources in this agricultural sector; most of the commercial output comes from a small number of large units in the more favourable areas, with the vast majority of the agricultural population working family farms in disadvantaged areas. Such family farms often have an alternative source of income; for example, from the Gastarbeiter or "guest workers" of Northern Europe. Moreover, the produce of many of the economically large agricultural units is focussed on northern markets (often replacing, for example, produce grown in those areas at greater resource or labour cost). Thus economic recession inevitably leads to a reassessment of the balance between the urban and rural economies.

Modern agriculture demands improved technology, particularly in disadvantaged areas, but there are limited educational opportunities in remoter areas. The Common Agricultural Policy of the European Community has further widened the imbalance between these different farming methods. The low income-low output farm is having great difficulty in adapting to the recession and large areas of land have fallen into disuse. Moreover, it is difficult to attract industry to such remote areas and, even when it is established, usually it brings limited economic benefit to the hinterland. In essence, therefore, the main objectives must be:

- to identify problems rather than geographical areas;
- to take full account of human resources;
- to allow for a permanent and possibly intensifying energy crisis (big farms have a high energy cost and are ecologically doubtful);
- to recognise that using resources to create artificial jobs is neither equitable nor a contribution to development and therefore to examine what can be achieved with rural areas as a whole rather than subsidising people.

Australia/New Zealand: Mrs. Shirley Randell, Director of Disadvantaged Schools and Country Areas Program of the Australian Schools Commission.

Australia's exports are based on large-scale farming and mining in rural areas, but there is a serious gap in knowledge and understanding in the urban settlements round the coast, where 85 per cent of the population live (50 per cent in Melbourne and Sydney alone), of the severe problems of isolation in such areas. New Zealand is a much smaller country, more highly urbanised, with much smaller farms. In both countries the rural educational service is very diverse, being sometimes dependent, in Australia, on distance learning techniques) but in general the quality of public services in rural areas is inferior.

Particularly in Australia, there are limited employment opportunities in rural areas and high transport and energy costs make local development difficult. The population drift, previously to the great cities, is now predominantly to provincial centres. Diverse policies are required to overcome the social and economic problems inherent in rural life, which are compounded for minority groups such as the aborigines and maoris. There are very few effective political initiatives based on rural areas.

North America: Dr. John Bottum, Director of Rural and Community Development for the United States Department of Agriculture.

The 1970s saw a rapid development in rural areas in the West and North, with a dramatically higher population growth than elsewhere in the United States, due to both natural growth and in-migration. Nevertheless unemployment, health and housing are still much worse in rural areas. The population growth was less marked in the central states, whilst there was a significant decline in population in the major industrial areas on the Eastern seaboard, particularly in predominantly black (but not necessarily low-income) areas.

In economic terms, traditional industries are failing; energy-based and high technology industries are flourishing; and the agricultural sector is optimistic that demand can be brought into balance with supply (thus leading to a real increase in prices), although agriculture is a relatively small part of the economy in most parts of the country.

28 per cent of the population (but 40 per cent of the poor) live in rural areas, and recent changes in government policies mean that an already low level of public assistance programmes will be further reduced by budget reductions designed to slow down the growth of government and encourage self-reliance.

2. DEVELOPMENT IMPLICATIONS OF SCHOOL ORGANISATION PATTERNS

Report of Workshop Group A

Rapporteur: Professor R.C. Whitfield

Input: brief papers by Professors Nisbet (Aberdeen University) and Whitfield (Aston University) relating in particular to research projects on the social and educational effects of primary school rationalisation in Scotland and England respectively.

Observations:

(i) No single solution to the problems of the distribution of primary schooling.

(ii) Head Teachers' leadership and professional practice central to perceptions of school by pupils and community.

(iii) School reorganisation requires more genuine consultation by administrators with communities likely to be affected.

(iv) There is a distinction to be made between community feelings of identity and their patterns of social behaviour with respect to their local schools.

(v) Schools are not a necessary condition of local community development and viability; alternative facilities can fulfil parallel roles (apart from the formal instruction of children). Schools have a much shorter history than that of co-operative community development.

(vi) Schools can contribute to community esteem and resilience, especially if they are open and permeable to all sections of the community; such permeability makes additional demands on teachers.

(vii) Schools have been essentially responsive to society demands, and the timescale of response is not usually rapid once basic provision has been made; widespread curricular response tends to be slow. Teachers in democracies do not have a licence to transform society; society requires them to concentrate their efforts first towards individual pupils. A more totalitarian and less pluralistic philosophy would be necessary for teachers to become professionally involved in the collective transformation of society, and then schools and teachers would not be the only spheres affected.

Recommendations:

(i) Any future work by OECD on ELD will need to probe beneath macro or broad spectrum considerations of the "polymorphous" concepts of "education" and "development". Casual modelling of inter-connections must await further research - both theoretical and in terms of data collection and analysis. The issues are both intellectually and practically fertile for a range of disciplines.

(ii) There is a central need to do further work which will illuminate the conditions necessary for "improving" small rural schools, i.e. schools of less than about 50 pupils and 3 teachers. "Improvement" means both in terms of individual child growth and development, and in terms of community activity.

3. ELD ISSUES IN MINORITY/INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES

Report of Workshop Group B

Rapporteur: Professor Ray Barnhardt

The Workshops began with a review of the OECD Seminar on the same topic which was conducted in Fairbanks, Alaska last April. This was followed with brief overviews of several indigenous minority situations in OECD countries. In general, such groups appear to be amongst the most attended to and least benefited by rural development efforts. However, their marginal status in the context of majority socio-cultural, political, economic and educational forces, while leaving them vulnerable on the one hand, accentuates and makes more acute ELD issues that are often of generalisable significance, on the other hand.

The basic overriding issue that emerged from our discussion was the need for rural indigenous/minority communities to gain greater access to the resources and power that are necessary to define their own existence in a national context. It was felt that ELD approaches that are rooted in external formal systems are severely limited in their ability to contribute to long-term development in indigenous, minority communities. To the extent that such efforts originate outside the local community, they must develop and work through indigenous structures, people and processes in the context of the local community, if there is to be any lasting increase in self-determination.

Some of the points that were discussed related to this issue were as follows:

(i) Communities need access to communication systems by which information can be managed and distributed to achieve their own various ends, and on a scale that is suited to the needs of the local community.

(ii) Minority groups need ways to validate their indigenous expertise and knowledge so that it can receive full recognition and attention in the largest socio-political context. In some areas, this is being addressed through minority-controlled cultural institutes, training centres, etc.

(iii) A priority need is the opportunity for indigenous leadership development that prepares minority people not only for the existing social and economic opportunity structure, but for the role of developing new more localised structures.

Though we ran short on time we did reach consensus on one recommendation for future OECD efforts with regard to this issue.

We suggest that OECD prepare and analyse a special set of case histories of instances in which indigenous minority populations have gained control of resources and access to powers through which they have increased their own opportunities for self-determination and self-reliance. Examples of such cases might range from the Icelandic and Greenlandic experiences to the various cultural institutes and training centres mentioned earlier. (Sami, Innuit, Maori, Aborigine, Western Isles, and Highlander Center.)

Before I give up the floor I would like to make a personal observation on an issue that has cut across several workshops and other discussions at this conference - that is the questioning of the role of the formal education system, and its inability to adequately address ELD concerns in rural communities, particularly in non-western contexts. Our experience in Alaska would certainly reinforce that point of view, and my assessment of the reason is that current formal educational structures and practices are rooted in psychological theory and the clinical study of the individual, whereas what we are examining here and experiencing back home, are conditions that derive from the interaction between individuals and amongst groups, in the context of a living community. The formal system cannot accommodate such concerns until we realign the distribution of power in the society, develop new forms and practices of education that address individual needs in the context of "community", and then build those practices into the system from the teacher training institutions on down.

4. ELD ISSUES IN URBAN AND RURAL COMMUNITIES

Report of Workshop Group A

Rapporteur: R. S. JOHNSTON

Observations:

(i) Comparing urban and rural development deprivation can be helpful. The comparison may show that each category can be peripheral to the national policy-making system. On the whole, however, as Ray Marshall said at the outset, there is probably less chance that national policy-makers will overlook urban deprivation and more chance that they will overlook rural areas.

(ii) The comparison may show that in each category there can be problems of access to educational and development opportunities - both on a geographical dimension and in respect of opportunities to participate equally in a labour market.

(iii) Much development in both areas can be dependent upon generally small businesses - often in the service sector.

(iv) Urban areas have the disadvantage of a labour force still liable to be trained in (declining) manufacturing sectors. Rural areas have at least potential advantages of fewer demarcation problems and a tradition in multi-occupational activity.

Recommendations:

(i) Educators shall curtail their predisposition towards academic or white-collar goals and elaborate training programmes.

(ii) Business training at local level should concentrate on basic skills either "on the job" or in brief courses. The service sector presents many chances to train owner-entrepreneurs to run their businesses more effectively to increase their income and employment opportunities.

(iii) Locally-based vocational guidance systems should be available. Planning for ELD in the future has to accept the possibility of considerable mobility of population and rapid change of employment opportunities in any local area. Vocational guidance systems form one of the most important aspects of rural development sub-structure.

(iv) There should be more case studies of different levels of provision of education and training against the needs of areas at different stages of development and with different social and endemic needs.

(v) The "bridge" between school and work is important and to be more precisely studied at local level. A high priority should be given to planning and "employment path" for young people over 3 or 5 years following their school education. More illustrations of that path should be gathered.

(vi) Higher educational institutions should be associated with rural developments. There needs to be identification of what functions these institutions (undergraduate, graduate teaching, pure research, applied research) would be most valuable to attract. Mode of operation is probably more important than their location.

5. FUTURE WORK ON EDUCATION AND LOCAL DEVELOPMENT

Plenary Session considering reports from the Workshop Groups

Chairman: Jarl Bengtsson

The Chairman first suggested to participants that there might be eight key issues in these reports:

(i) The effect of school closures on the social fabric of the community (although the history of formal education is much shorter than that of community social development);

(ii) Access by minority groups to resources and political influence;

(iii) The location of higher education facilities;

(iv) The mutual interests of the developed and developing worlds;

(v) The importance of full social and educational facilities for women;

(vi) The need for alternative economic development strategies to promote employment;

(vii) The need to inform urban youth of the opportunities of rural life;

(viii) The neglect of the contribution which people, as opposed to capital, might make to development.

Mr. Bengtsson went on to point out that the ELD project and the Stornoway Conference had produced a great deal of valuable information. The Project had developed an important international network and the CERI Secretariat hoped that it would be possible to continue the momentum that had been generated. The results and recommendations of the Project would be used by the OECD

(a) to revise the Secretariat paper for consideration by the CERI Governing Body;

(b) to prepare a general report on the findings of this project;

(c) as part of the planning for CERI's next five-year programme (Mr. Bengtsson urged delegates to report back to their governments on ways in which the ELD theme might most effectively be promoted; e.g. through one of the proposed intersectoral projects).

The following points were then raised, or made.

Mrs. S. Randell (Australia): The project had been diminished through Member countries' failure to respond to the urban initiative, and thus to face up to the implications of the inherent urban/rural, central/peripheral issue. The Conference had identified several important objectives for peripheral communities:

- confidence
- political influence
- motivation
- access to skills and experience

It was important to relate future work to the needs of all disadvantaged groups in peripheral areas. It was particularly useful to hold such meetings in specific rural areas as distinct from OECD headquarters in Paris.

Mr. Egan (Australia) said that Western Australia was promoting a major ELD project, incorporating several case studies, and that copies of project papers would be sent direct to all Conference delegates.

Professor Bottum (United States) raised two issues for consideration:

- universities should be encouraged to offer courses in community development, which would benefit teachers in particular (he offered to send any interested delegate a copy of an outline of such a course);
- it was important to involve education in the formal development procedure; e.g., through representative membership of agencies and councils.

Dr. Rommel (FDR) suggested that CERI should sponsor more comparative studies of alternative development in rural areas. He also drew attention to the significance of the "youth guarantee" concept, and suggested that work was needed on means of establishing central support for vocational guidance and the promotion of socio-cultural activities. Mr. Bengtsson replied that the CERI Governing Board would be considering the specific issue of the "youth guarantee".

Dr. R. Clarke (Scotland) observed that although he saw great benefit in the OECD having sponsored an ELD network which included both educators and development workers, he doubted whether the time spent formulating recommendations was worthwhile; not only because the nature of rural areas and of the development problem varied so widely, so that most recommendations were so generalised as to be worthless, but also because OECD was not supranational and had no power to influence their adoption by Member states. Exchanges of information as in the network which the ELD project had established were not only valuable in themselves but were therefore more effective. Nevertheless, he urged the promotion of national initiatives in line with the Conference recommendations.

Mr. Coombs put forward three topics for further consideration.

- The organisation of education, and the intersectoral relationships (which were also stressed by Professor Whitfield).
- The importance of OECD taking an integrated view.
- A review of the most appropriate length of compulsory education as one of the options for ELD-related changes; much of the momentum for education came from the informal sector.

Mr. M. Clarke (United States) hoped that at least one case study would be an analytical account of an example of positive educational work in support of rural development (Mr. Bengtsson acknowledged the importance of that suggestion).

Mr. Johnston (Scotland) offered a few provocative remarks. Had OECD delegates found any difficulty in discussing ELD issues with colleagues involved in either education or development in their Member states? He suggested that many of the development specialists present at the Conference or whose views had been reported in the project papers had an out-of-date vision of the school curriculum. There were many relevant subjects there related to the essential theme of participation, although terminology often obscured their significance (e.g. social studies); nevertheless, 50 per cent of the responsibility for the relevance of the curriculum rested with developers. Since 1968, when there had been a significant rationalisation of educational programmes, educationalists had adopted one of two basic philosophies:

- those who believed that the school sector could be liberalised by allowing for representative or elected membership of formal committees;
- and "participation"; that is to ensure that educational experiences were made available in a genuinely participative manner, humanity through informality.

He therefore asked whether delegates knew how "participative" the formal system had in fact become or did they know but disagree with the approach adopted? In conclusion he stressed the importance of "development" relating to "education".

PART THREE: ELD PROJECT CONCLUSIONS RATIFIED AT THE CONFERENCE

When the conclusions put before the Conference were formulated the ELD case studies were a key source of information and insight as were the country survey responses and related documents submitted by Member countries. Most important, however, were the considered views of the national delegates attending.

The conclusions as ratified fall naturally into three categories: (a) general, being applicable to all elements of the ELD work; (b) those relating specifically to formal education in rural development; and (c) those relating to non-formal and adult education in this context. No ranking should be inferred from the order in which they are listed. The extent to which any particular conclusion is applicable varies, of course, from one OECD country to another; nevertheless, a significant degree of commonality and comparability can be observed among them.

1. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

I. THE RURAL POPULATION OF OECD MEMBER COUNTRIES IS NOW, AND WILL CONTINUE TO BE, SIGNIFICANT IN NUMERICAL TERMS

Rural populations are not going away. Although there has been a considerable decline in the "rural" proportion of national populations (using each country's own definition of "rural" since there is no accepted international standard), there has not been a similar reduction in the absolute number of rural residents.

At present, there are approximately 220,000,000 people living in the rural areas of OECD countries. This is equivalent to the aggregate population of the world's 25 largest urban areas. Put another way, the OECD rural population is comparable to the total population of France, Germany, Italy and the United Kingdom combined. Further, rural to urban migration patterns are slowing in most countries and have stopped, or even reversed, in others. Such a large population should no longer be regarded as marginal or insignificant.

II. THE EDUCATION AND LOCAL DEVELOPMENT ISSUE IS AS IMPORTANT IN HIGHLY DEVELOPED OECD COUNTRIES AS IT IS IN LESS DEVELOPED MEMBER NATIONS

Although the stages of, and perspectives on, economic development vary among OECD countries, the importance of ELD-related concerns does not vary a great deal. Some stress the urban side and some the rural side, but in most ELD problems and possibilities are present countrywide.

III. ALTHOUGH ELD ISSUES IN URBAN AND RURAL COMMUNITIES ARE VERY SIMILAR IN THEORY, THE SPECIFIC PROBLEMS AND APPROPRIATE REMEDIES ARE OFTEN DISSIMILAR

At the level of fundamental principles (such as those expressed in the remaining general conclusions) there are few noteworthy urban-rural differences. However, given the emphasis on local development here, the fact that differences in the local context lead to many operational differences should come as no surprise. For example, the importance of schools as community centres; the absence of a strong development infrastructure; the emphasis on self-employment and occupational diversity; and the significance of small-scale ventures tend to be characteristic of rural areas. Conversely, urban communities tend to have a far more diversified economic and educational base; greater problems of agency and community co-ordination; a relative over-supply of available labour; and better access to development resources. All these greatly affect the ways in which ELD initiatives actually play themselves out in metropolitan versus non-metropolitan communities. Nevertheless, at the political level, there is much to be gained by economically depressed rural communities joining forces with their urban counterparts in seeking national policies, programmes and support mechanisms which will ameliorate their common educational and developmental problems. Unfortunately, there are few examples in the Member nations of successful urban-rural alliances being forged around ELD-related issues. The feasibility, and potential value, of such an alliance continues to be significant, however, and should be encouraged whenever possible.

IV. EDUCATION AND LOCAL DEVELOPMENT ARE ALREADY CLOSELY CONNECTED IN OECD COUNTRIES

In a fundamental sense, there is nothing new or innovative in the idea that there is a vital relationship between these two spheres. Complex and dynamic linkages have long existed, even if they have been largely ignored or overlooked by policy-makers and practitioners. Thus, the critical issue is not whether education and local development are (or should be) connected, for the fact is that they are already inextricably intertwined. Rather, the key question is what kind of relationship between them should governments sanction and support.

V. WHILE A LACK OF OFFICIAL RECOGNITION AND ACTION HAS NOT DIMINISHED THE ELD BOND, IT HAS MEANT THAT THE NATURE AND CONSEQUENCES OF THESE CONNECTIONS REMAIN UNCONTROLLED

Many of the relationships between education and development are subtle, indirect, and often inadvertent - but this has not rendered them insignificant. Because ELD issues tend to transcend the mandate of sectorially-organised government departments, these issues are often ignored by everyone and their impacts occur in a haphazard manner. This is not an advantageous situation.

VI. WHILE EDUCATION MUST BE A PARTNER IN THE LOCAL DEVELOPMENT PROCESS, ITS ROLE IS ESSENTIALLY A SUBORDINATE ONE

As project participants repeatedly emphasized, economic growth and economic development are not the same. Growth can lead to development (and vice-versa) but the linkage is by no means automatic. The key characteristic of meaningful economic development is that the local population reaps the major benefits of all the new economic activity. However, in depressed or marginal communities, there can be no meaningful economic development in the absence of human resource development. Thus, education can, does, and should play a vital part in local economic development initiatives. Nevertheless, meeting the pressing economic needs of disadvantaged or marginal local communities dictates that economic agencies and strategies must play the lead role in the development process. For example, education is an irreplaceable factor in youth employment and yet changes in the economy and in the labour market (rather than in education) are ultimately responsible for aggravating or alleviating high youth unemployment rates.

VII. CONNECTING EDUCATION AND LOCAL DEVELOPMENT CAN HAVE EITHER POSITIVE OR NEGATIVE EFFECTS

It is imperative to avoid the simplistic notion that any linkage between education and local development is a beneficial one. The ELD case studies point out a variety of positive impacts. However, there are also some ELD connections which are clearly destructive. For example, education and development are intimately connected in "company towns" where very inadequate schools are tolerated (if not encouraged) by the company because they ensure a surplus pool of cheap, docile labour and reduce the likelihood that the local economic order will be called into question. Similarly, rural education programmes which ensure the outmigration of the community's brightest and most capable youths may have a variety of justifications, but there is no avoiding the fact that their impact on the local community is almost always negative and occasionally devastating.

VIII. GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION CAN AFFECT THE NATURE AND QUALITY OF THE ELD RELATIONSHIP

Although historically the ELD link has existed despite, rather than because of, government policies, it is equally evident that governmental action can fundamentally alter this relationship (for better or worse) in a given local community. The point is that formulating appropriate governmental policies and practices in this area is not a waste of time or energy. Indeed, the ELD field may prove to be a rare target of opportunity for creative governmental action.

IX. GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION SHOULD ENSURE THAT THE LOCAL POPULATION IS THE CHIEF BENEFICIARY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF ITS OWN COMMUNITY

Sadly and ironically, many of the efforts ostensibly intended to promote local development have actually occurred at the expense and to the detriment of the indigenous resident population. As a rule, development done by the local community is more successful and beneficial than development done to the community against its will by "outsiders" from the public or private sector. In other words, "grassroots" (or "indigenous" or "self-reliant" or "bottom-up") development strategies are more likely to result in significant improvements in the lives of local residents. However, such ventures carry with them the need for extensive educational initiatives of both the formal and non-formal variety. Government assistance should reflect this reality.

X. GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION SHOULD BE FLEXIBLE AND PLURALISTIC IN ORDER TO REFLECT THE DIVERSITY OF LOCAL COMMUNITIES

The primacy of local circumstances must be respected and built upon in any sound ELD strategy. There is no "one best system" or single national or international model around which all ELD activity should revolve. The current need is for governmental action in support of locally-relevant, locally-operated ELD innovations, rather than a standardized strategy that is designed and implemented on a national basis. Although they sound egalitarian and "fair", policies and programmes which treat all communities as if they were the same are inappropriate and counterproductive to the ELD process.

XI. GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION SHOULD FOSTER EFFECTIVE AND ACTIVE CO-OPERATION BETWEEN EDUCATION AUTHORITIES AND DEVELOPMENT AGENCIES

For ELD initiatives to succeed, there is a critical need for meaningful co-ordination among relevant government agencies at all levels. The stakes are too high to allow agencies on either side to ignore each other or to work at cross-purposes. At a minimum, this co-operation and co-ordination must exist at the informational and planning levels. However, the creation of ELD "joint ventures" is an alternative which should be seriously considered by Member governments.

2. AS TO THE ROLE OF FORMAL EDUCATION IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT

I. RURAL SCHOOLS HAVE ENORMOUS POTENTIAL TO FUNCTION AS COMMUNITY INSTITUTIONS AND SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED TO BETTER EXPLOIT THIS POTENTIAL

Rural schools (particularly small village schools) are often referred to as being the "heart of the community". Often, however, this statement is a reflection of the school's symbolic meaning to the community, rather than a description of its actual behaviour. Nevertheless, the places where these partnerships do exist make clear that the potential for rural schools to actually operate as vital community institutions is remarkable. Helping schools to perform this role is a necessary first step toward building a positive relationship between formal education and local development.

II. THE BASIC ELD-RELATED PURPOSE OF FORMAL EDUCATION IS TO ESTABLISH THE PRE-CONDITIONS FOR LOCAL DEVELOPMENT

Although schools occasionally play a direct economic role by virtue of being a major local employer or through experimental schemes like the school-based enterprises, this is not their fundamental connection to local development. Rather, their task is to create a cadre of young people possessing the skills, knowledge, and attitudes needed to become responsible and productive individuals who are able to contribute to the community's development, if they so choose. This implies that educators must understand and act to enhance the ELD linkages which exist (albeit indirectly) at every level of the education system.

For example, at the pre-school level, the ELD connection can be found in the fact that these early childhood programmes allow mothers to seek local employment, and also serve to reduce the isolation (and reinforce the community identity) of rural children and parents alike. At the primary school level, the socialisation process - e.g. the vision of the "good life" (and where to find it) imparted to children - has a direct bearing on later attitudes to the local community and its development prospects. At the secondary level, the curriculum and its relevance to life in the local community has major ELD implications as does student exploration of options for employment or further education. At the vocational/technical school level, the ELD link can be seen in appropriateness of the training offered to the structure of the local economy and the characteristics of the local labour market. And finally, at the university level, the extent to which the traditional tasks of research, service and teaching are focused on rural needs and rural possibilities is an indication of their utility from an ELD perspective - as is the degree to which individuals desirous of living/working in a rural community are prepared to do so successfully because of their education. The point is simply that by establishing the correct pre-conditions, the formal education system can make an important contribution to the local development process.

III. THE LOCATION OF SCHOOLS IS A KEY FACTOR IN LINKING EDUCATION AND LOCAL DEVELOPMENT, ESPECIALLY AT THE PRIMARY SCHOOL LEVEL

Rural schools are a major source of community identity and community pride. The closure of the local rural school can have the (unintended) consequence of seriously eroding a small community's sense of self-worth - and thereby reducing its motivation and ability to engage in local development activities. Whether this negative result occurs is largely dependent upon the specific circumstances surrounding a closure, e.g. travel and distances involved, quality and orientation of the recipient school, and local politics and attitudes. The general point is that while good schools in a particular rural community are rarely a strong incentive for businesses to relocate there, the absence of schools can be a powerful disincentive to attracting and retaining not only businesses but also the young families who would accompany them. Thus, education policy-makers have to become more sensitive to the development implications of decisions (like school closures) previously made strictly on the basis of education system-oriented criteria.

IV. THE STRATEGY OF USING EDUCATION PRIMARILY TO PROMOTE INDIVIDUAL MOBILITY IS REACHING THE POINT OF DIMINISHING RETURNS

Particularly for young people coming from isolated rural communities the relationship between geographic mobility and socio-economic mobility has traditionally been tightly interwoven. In other words, the message long communicated to students (whether intentionally or unwittingly) by the education system, by employment training programmes and even by the media was that economic opportunity was primarily to be found outside their home communities. This was a powerful message and the known opportunities at home (which were often marginal) could not begin to compete with the lure of unknown - but supposedly excellent - opportunities elsewhere. However, there is now a growing recognition that the "success" achieved in this manner comes with a much higher social and economic cost to both individuals and society as a whole than anyone had originally anticipated. Moreover, in the majority of OECD countries, the centres of economic opportunity to which youths flocked have become saturated in recent years and cannot productively absorb or utilise all their own young people, let alone a continuing influx of rural migrants. Accordingly, the economic reality behind geographic mobility - the existence of economic centres to which country migrants could go and be reasonably certain to find "good" (or at least better) economic opportunities - is perhaps no longer a reality at all. For more and more young people from poor, working class or even middle class backgrounds, going from the countryside to the city (or even from one country to another) has not resulted in the "better life" they envisaged. Indeed, much of the current movement can be characterised as a shifting of old deprivations to new locales.

V. THE "OPTION TO STAY" IN RURAL COMMUNITIES SHOULD BE GIVEN HIGHER PRIORITY BY THE EDUCATION SYSTEM

The notion here is not one of restricting any individual's progress or possibilities. The traditional "option to leave" should and will continue to exist as a viable choice for rural youths. Now, however, it may be wise to supplement and balance the traditional encouragement of individual migration by using formal and non-formal educational mechanisms in order to explore and promote the options to stay in the local area, without a major sacrifice of social and economic aspirations. To be effective, it is clear this new educational emphasis must be directly tied to the effort to expand and diversify the local economic base. Training youths simply to fit into the long-established (and frequently declining) local economic pursuits is neither particularly productive nor what is meant here by creating a real option to stay. Rather the intention must be to link these education programmes with economic development programmes attempting to rejuvenate the local area through the creation of new kinds of industries, jobs, self-employment and entrepreneurial opportunities.

VI. ATTEMPTS TO DEVELOP "LOCALLY-RELEVANT" CURRICULA AND TO PROMOTE "EXPERIENTIAL" EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES MERIT STRONG SUPPORT

By their actions, schools present students with a powerful vision of what knowledge is important and which experiences will prove valuable in their adult lives. Schools which actively incorporate the community's human and physical resources; which interweave pertinent information about the local area throughout the curriculum, and which at least partially utilise an experiential pedagogical style (i.e. "learning by doing") can impart a very useful pro-local development message to their students. In other words, the creation of locally-relevant curricula and learning styles can easily and effectively tie in with local development initiatives. Again, the intent is not to devalue basic skills or to lower the quality of education for rural students, but rather to inculcate the necessary skills (and perhaps improve the quality of instruction) through the use of locally-relevant, experiential techniques.

VII. UPGRADING THE ROLE OF FORMAL EDUCATION IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT WILL REQUIRE NEW TRAINING AND RETRAINING PROGRAMMES FOR BOTH EDUCATORS AND DEVELOPMENT SPECIALISTS

In order to have people capable of increasing the positive aspects of the education and local development interaction, it is first necessary to provide these individuals with the training they need to function competently and comfortably. It is important however that everyone involved in the ELD process - from schools, development agencies, and interested local communities - have access to this training, plus incentives which will facilitate their participation. This training process probably can best be carried out through a combination of community-based internships and related academic experiences of both a formal and non-formal nature.

3. AS TO NON-FORMAL AND ADULT EDUCATION IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT

I. BOTH NON-FORMAL AND ADULT EDUCATION HAVE MADE, AND CAN CONTINUE TO MAKE, MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROCESS IN OECD COUNTRIES

Far from being a superfluous "add-on" to "real" (i.e. economic) development, non-formal and adult education are an essential and unavoidable part of any successful rural development programme. Their fundamental role varies with the particular development strategy being utilised. For example, in rural development strategies based upon attracting outside industry, non-formal and adult education can be used to provide the training necessary for local people to successfully compete for available new jobs in their community.

In rural development strategies based upon increasing agricultural production and marketing efficiency, non-formal and adult education - through delivery systems ranging from government-sponsored agricultural extension services to community-based farmer associations - can enhance the farmers' position through new technical knowledge and new methods of operation. And finally, in rural development strategies based upon stimulating the creation of small-scale individually and community owned enterprises (in tourism, crafts, fish-farming, light industry, etc.), non-formal and adult education can both impart entrepreneurial skills and assist residents in organising and managing successful ventures. In all three cases, such education can be seen as a tool of empowerment - that is as the means through which rural populations (and especially disadvantaged rural populations) prepare themselves to capitalise upon the potential benefits of economic expansion. As noted earlier, non-formal and adult education can be the key to helping local rural people turn economic growth into genuine economic and community development.

II. WHEN AVAILABLE, FORMAL EMPLOYMENT-RELATED ADULT EDUCATION AND TRAINING PROGRAMMES IN RURAL AREAS TEND TO BE GOVERNMENT-OPERATED, INDIVIDUALLY-ORIENTED, TECHNICALLY/SKILL-BASED, AND RELATED TO LARGE-SCALE IMPORTED DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES

The availability of and access to formal adult education and training programmes continues to be a problem in the rural areas of OECD nations. Governmental attempts to widen the geographic distribution of post-secondary institutions (through the creation of new technical institutes, regional colleges and community colleges or through the physical decentralisation of existing programmes and institutions) have been a major step in the right direction. Nevertheless, there is often a significant discrepancy between the official catchment area and the population actually being served - with the more remote rural communities (which may need these programmes the most) ending up being the ones least often reached. As is the case in schools, the emphasis of formal adult education is often on individual mobility or credentialing rather than solving local community problems. Still, formal adult education and training can play an important role in preparing local people for employment either outside their home areas or in those rural communities where development means attracting a factory or other major employer to relocate there.

III. NON-FORMAL ADULT EDUCATION IN RURAL AREAS TENDS TO HAVE DIVERSE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECTOR SPONSORS, BE COMMUNITY-ORIENTED, AND EMPHASIZE CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SMALL-SCALE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES

The varied array of actual and potential non-formal education activities in the Member countries was one of the most encouraging discoveries of the ELD project. Whether sponsored by churches, unions, businesses, community organisations, political groups, public agencies or private foundations, non-formal initiatives tend to have the strongest direct linkages to local development. Their agendas usually are derived from an analysis of local needs and concerns and their activities are designed to foster both the individual and collective capabilities required to solve pressing local problems. Most of these non-formal efforts share an operational assumption that social/cultural development and economic development are part of the same process and must be implemented in tandem. Although many of these non-formal education thrusts are poorly funded, loosely organised, very small-scale and otherwise marginal in regional or national terms, they have an importance locally which must not be underestimated.

IV. RURAL DEVELOPMENT AGENCIES SHOULD BE STRONGLY ENCOURAGED TO ACCORD A HIGHER PRIORITY TO EDUCATION AND SOCIAL/CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT WITHIN THEIR OWN POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES

Far too often, issues of human resource development are given only a minor or token place in the spectrum of activities generated by rural development agencies. In part, this is the result of either a lack of statutory authority to become involved to a major extent in this area or the misguided assumption that these issues are being adequately addressed by other agencies. In addition, the belief that "hard" development (e.g. building factories or other capital-intensive investments) takes precedence over "soft", i.e. human resource, development also lies behind the lack of enthusiasm for work in this area. However, increased economic activity or higher aggregate wealth in a region means little in and of itself; the distribution of this wealth and the actual beneficiaries of these activities are the critically-important criteria. The capacity of disadvantaged, marginal rural communities to reap the benefits of development is severely limited in the absence of intensive formal and non-formal adult education activities. Thus, the fact that social/cultural/skill development is vital to the success of economic development needs to be more fully acknowledged and reflected by rural development agencies.

V. GOVERNMENTS SHOULD NOT ATTEMPT TO SUPPRESS OR SUPPLANT THE DIVERSE NETWORK OF NON-FORMAL EDUCATION ACTIVITIES CURRENTLY UNDER WAY IN RURAL COMMUNITIES

Whether the government's role in non-formal education should be essentially neutral or actively supportive is not an issue which can be sensibly addressed in an international context, for there are situations and circumstances which warrant different responses. Part of the value of some non-formal education programmes can be found in the counterweight they provide to those official policies and programmes which are not effectively meeting the needs of the rural disadvantaged. Part of their value is also derived from the sense of control and accomplishment which flows from the fact of their independence and self-reliance. Government intervention, no matter how well-intentioned, would tend to undermine these benefits. In other circumstances - for example, when the government is directly operating an agricultural extension service - heightened levels of government support and activity may be both appropriate and valuable in the local development process. However, governments must resist the temptation, on the one hand, directly to control or supplant the existing spectrum of non-formal education programmes or, on the other hand, to suppress those non-formal education thrusts which are not wholly in harmony with their own efforts. Rather, by sanctioning the value of voluntary, community-based organisations - through deliberate non-interference and/or active financial support - governments can ensure that the existing network of non-formal education programmes will continue to grow and prosper.

VI. GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION SHOULD PLACE THE HIGHEST PRIORITY ON ELD ISSUES AFFECTING RURAL MINORITY GROUPS, INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES, AND OTHER POPULATION GROUPS (SUCH AS LOW-INCOME RURAL WOMEN) HISTORICALLY DENIED THE FULL BENEFITS OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES

Building positive relationships between education and local development is an important task throughout the rural segments of OECD countries. However, the necessity of making this connection a useful one is nowhere more pressing and poignant than in the case of minority, indigenous and other "special need" populations. In part, it is a matter of governments continuing and extending their recent attempts to redress the injustices of the past. In part, it is a function of the fact that many of these minority and indigenous communities find themselves facing increasing pressures and difficult development decisions as a result of their possession of economically important natural resources. Yet, most important, the ELD connection is crucial because these local communities (and the nation as a whole) can no longer afford to squander the human resources and productive capacity which these populations represent.

APPENDIX

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